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With three pages of jobs

Tide turns against Clinton

Martin Kettle
in Washington

IMPEACHMENT is staring President Bill Clinton in the face after a steady stream of undecided Republicans announced they would vote against him in tomorrow's historic session in the United States Congress.

As Mr Clinton returned to the White House late last night after his Middle East trip, his advisers were preparing to make an 11th hour attempt to turn the political tide that is now running strongly against him. One possibility was for Mr Clinton to make a personal statement to Congress before tomorrow's debate.

The mood across Washington was sombre with most analysts concluding that it is too late for Mr Clinton to reverse the increasingly undecisive mood on Capitol Hill.

Undeterred by opinion polls which continue to show the American people strongly opposed to impeachment, a succession of previously undecided members of the Republican majority in the House of Representatives declared yesterday that they would vote to send Mr Clinton to trial in the Senate.

They included Fred Upton of Michigan, a leading moderate, and Nancy Johnson of Connecticut, a former House ethics committee chairwoman. They were joined by Michael Forbes of New York, a key ally of the new House Speaker, Bob Livingston.

The White House continued to lobby up to 20 as yet uncommitted Republican congressmen, amid continuing Administration hopes that as many as 10 of them will tip Mr Clinton's way at the last moment, thus saving him the humiliation of becoming only the second president to face an impeachment trial in the Senate.

Amid the opinion polls opposing a House vote for impeachment, a Washington Post poll also contained a finding that could in the end prove to be Mr Clinton's political death sentence. Asked whether the president should fight the charges in a Senate trial or resign his office, assuming that he is impeached,



Bob Dole: old foe proposes way out for the president

tomorrow, 58 per cent said he should resign, with only 38 calling on him to stand and fight.

Most of Washington's political class has always argued that Mr Clinton would survive because there were not the required 67 votes against him in the Senate, which the Republicans control by 55-45. But yesterday's poll suggests that public opinion is more concerned to get the whole process over by the quickest possible means than to stand behind Mr Clinton.

Every Republican who made a public statement yesterday indicated an intention to vote for impeachment. A previously committed opponent of the move, Jack Quinn of New York, announced that he would vote in favour.

A second, Christopher Shays of Connecticut, asked for a meeting with the president today amid hints that he too might swing back to the impeachment camp.

"The issue is about principle, not politics," Mr Quinn said. "My decision is based on the clear evidence of perjury and obstruction of justice as presented by the House Judiciary committee in the last week."

As the pool of possible anti-impeachment Republicans continued to shrink, Congressman Tom Campbell of California announced that he also was intending to support the charges against Mr Clinton. He was followed, an hour later, by Congressman Roy Blunt of Missouri, another former waverrer.

Yesterday's spate of announcements seems to leave Mr Clinton with little chance

of overcoming the Republicans' 228-207 House majority in the four impeachment votes tomorrow.

With the numbers closing in on the president, however, the chief Congressional proponent of impeachment, Congressman Tom DeLay of Texas, said that Mr Clinton could still survive. "Anything is do-able," Mr DeLay said. "This is so serious that members will even change their vote walking over to vote."

Mr Clinton won an unexpected but weighty ally when the man whom he defeated in the 1996 presidential election, former Senator Bob Dole, proposed a "tough but responsible" bipartisan alternative to impeachment.

Writing in the New York Times, the former Republican leader called on the Senate to initiate a joint resolution of censure from both houses of Congress after tomorrow's vote, securing what Mr Dole called "a bipartisan ending" before the next Congress convenes on January 6.

The battle for Congress's ear continued to be marked by intense telephone and e-mail lobbying. The Capitol Hill telephone system was swamped with calls again yesterday.

The Nobel peace prize-winner, Elie Wiesel and Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg, the daughter of the assassinated president, led a rally for President Clinton in New York, while Jesse Jackson announced a prayer vigil in his support on Capitol Hill.

The president's fightback was not made easier by reports in the New York tabloids of fresh strains in the Clinton marriage during the Middle East visit. The New York Post claimed that Hillary Clinton had brushed her husband away when he tried to take her hand during a public appearance in Jerusalem, and alleged that the couple stayed in different apartments during the flight to the region on Air Force One.

The mounting sense that Mr Clinton's presidency is more squarely on the line than ever came in spite of opinion polls which again showed clear majorities — 61 to 38 in a Washington Post-ABC News poll — against his impeachment.

Republicans desert Clinton, page 7; Jonathan Freedland, page 8



Graham Kelly, chief executive of the FA. He is alleged to have signed correspondence about the loan, which the FA was not told about

FA boss quits after scandal over £3.2m secret loan

Vivak Chaudhary
Sports Correspondent

GRAHAM Kelly, chief executive of the Football Association for the past 10 years and one of the most influential figures in the game, resigned last night after allegations that he was involved in the payment of a secret loan in return for securing votes for an English representative on Fifa, football's world governing body.

David Davies, the FA's director of public affairs, said Mr Kelly handed in his resignation moments after the FA executive committee ended a meeting to discuss the scandal over the loan, to the Welsh FA.

Keith Wiseman, the FA chairman, who allegedly arranged the loan of £3.2 million, refused to resign but a vote of no confidence in him was passed. The FA was not informed of the loan.

Mr Wiseman's fate will be decided at a special FA council meeting in January. He said last night: "The issue is one for the full FA council. I do not intend to make any comment at all until I have shared the full circumstances of this matter with them all."

Mr Wiseman also criticised the "gross distortion of the truth" in articles in the media about the matter.

The scandal is one of the biggest to hit the FA and will do little to enhance its reputation as England prepares to bid for the 2006 World Cup. Mr Kelly, who makes frequent TV appearances and is the monotone voice behind the FA Cup draw, is a major figure in football.

Mr Davies said the FA had thanked Mr Kelly for his 10 years of "dedicated work at Lancaster Gate, and wished him well for the future".

He added that the vote of no confidence in Mr Wiseman had been unanimous.

Mr Davies said: "Contrary to some unfair speculation, it wasn't part of any personal campaign against any individual. Such an outcome has been painful for all those involved in taking the decision."

"These events won't be allowed to interfere with the daily work of the FA in serving all levels of football from top to bottom."

Details of the £3.2 million loan came to light only when the FA finance committee received an invoice from the Welsh FA for the first instalment.

It is alleged that Mr Wiseman promised the money and that Mr Kelly signed correspondence on the loan.

The loan is said to be linked to the election of a Fifa vice-president to represent the home countries, earlier this year.

The post is currently held by David Wili, of Scotland. Holders are elected by individual FAs. It was felt imperative in some FA circles that an Englishman be elected Fifa vice-president, given England's desire to host the 2006 World Cup. The FA investigated the matter, fearing that the loan had been arranged behind its back in return for Welsh votes.

In addition to the Fifa election, it is also rumoured that the loan was designed to influence elections to the executive of Uefa, European football's governing body.

Tony Banks, the minister for sport, said: "It is a matter of great sadness to hear of the internal workings of the FA to resolve."

"In the meantime the Government expresses their satisfaction with the stated determination of the FA to pursue with all vigour England's World Cup bid, which is fully supported by the Government."

turn to page 3, column 7
David Lacey, page 16

Nobel peace prize winner accused of fabrication



Rigoberta Menchu: story challenged by academic

Michael Ellison in New York

THE reputation of a Nobel Peace Prize winner was in tatters last night after the story of her family's struggle against exploitation and oppression was challenged by an academic who retraced her steps.

Rigoberta Menchu, who became a cause célèbre for the intellectual left in Europe after making her way there, via Mexico, from the civil war in Guatemala, was accused of fabricating and exaggerating parts of her autobiography, *I, Rigoberta Menchu*. It includes the death of a brother, Nicolas, who is still alive.

David Stoll, an anthropologist at Middlebury College, Vermont, said she had drawn on the experiences of others to tell her story. She "drastically revised the pre-war experience of her village to suit the needs of the revolutionary organisation she had joined."

The book, which has been translated into 12 languages, was published in 1982, 10 years before Ms Menchu won the peace prize for "her work for social justice and ethno-cultural reconciliation."

Dr Stoll, who spent 10 years researching his book, *Rigoberta Menchu and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*, says many of the experiences she describes are composites. His

work is supported by a New York Times investigation.

But Geir Lundestad, director of the Nobel Institute, said her award was not based exclusively on the book and there was no question of the prize being withdrawn.

Ms Menchu's autobiography centres on the struggle of her father, Vicente Menchu Perez, his wife Juana and their nine children against a wealthy elite who tried to steal their land. Dr Stoll says the dispute was a feud between peasant families.

Other claims undermined include the death of one brother from starvation and another burnt to death by the Guatemalan army, her assertion that she had no education, and that she was an undercover political organiser.

Ms Menchu, now aged 39, has started to distance herself from the autobiography and refer the inquisitive to Elisabeth Burgos, the former wife of the Che Guevara associate Regis Debray, who collaborated on the work.

"I am the protagonist of the book and it was my testimony but I am not the author," said Ms Menchu. "She gave the book its final form so she is officially the author." But Ms Burgos, who transcribed 28 hours of tapes for the book, said: "Every phrase in the book comes from what Rigoberta Menchu said."

Few dispute that Ms Menchu's father, mother and two of her brothers were killed during the country's 36-year civil war, which finished in 1996. Clemente Diaz Cane, a former neighbour in the region of San Miguel Uspantan, said: "The truth may be different from how she told it, but that does not mean Rigoberta did not suffer greatly."

Robin Blackburn, Ms Menchu's editor at Verso, writing in the Guardian today in her defence, said: "At no point is evidence offered that Menchu invented the blood-soaked plight of her people, even if her account was a partial one."

Writer of obituary, G2 front

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Inside

UK news
The Metropolitan Police's drive against corruption has resulted in more than 80 criminal charges and suspensions.
Page 5

International
An angry Pope John Paul attacked modern capitalism in his strongest denunciation of the global economy.
Page 6

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In G2 EUROPE today: A group of African farmers have come up with a sweet new deal — fair-trade chocolate

+ Bethlehem 2000: a small Palestinian town plans to celebrate the millennial anniversary of its most famous son

Pinochet 'denied fair trial' by lords

Appeal hearing told that judge's links with Amnesty International breached European Convention

Clare Dyer
Legal Correspondent

LAWYERS for General Augusto Pinochet yesterday suggested he was denied a fair trial by the law lords, in breach of the European Convention on Human Rights, because links between Amnesty International and one of the judges, Lord Hoffmann, meant the court was not an "impartial tribunal".

In an unprecedented move

they argued that the House of Lords should set aside its November 25 decision that international law gives former heads of state no protection from extradition and prosecution for crimes against humanity, such as torture and kidnapping.

Lord Hoffmann was one of three judges out of five who held that the former Chilean dictator could be extradited.

Clare Montgomery QC, representing Gen Pinochet, said the "duration, variety, intensity and proximity" of the relationship between the

judge and Amnesty International "gave rise to the very least to the real danger of bias". There was a duty upon both Amnesty and Lord Hoffmann to disclose that link.

She asked a panel of five past and present law lords — none of whom took part in the earlier hearing — to rescind the November 25 decision, which overturned a High Court ruling that Gen Pinochet had immunity.

Lord Browne-Wilkinson, the senior law lord, said they would not set aside Lord Hoffmann's judgment alone — which would allow Gen Pinochet to go free — but would only consider rescinding the entire decision.

The law lords ruling on November 25 cleared the way for the Home Secretary, Jack

Straw, to authorise a lengthy extradition process to decide whether the 60-year-old general should be sent to Spain to face charges of human rights crimes allegedly committed during his 1973-80 rule.

The latest challenge, which will continue today, is being heard by three current law lords — Lords Browne-Wilkinson, Hutton and Hope — and two who have recently retired, Lords Goff and Nolan.

In a written outline of the general's case, his five barristers said it was "a matter of record" that Lord Hoffmann had been "an active and hostile interrogator" of counsel appearing for Gen Pinochet at the original House of Lords hearing. From time to time he had answered questions posed by the court in place of

counsel for the Crown Prosecution Service and Government of Spain. He had regularly offered support for the CPS case or that of Amnesty

Lord Hoffmann's role 'gave rise to the very least to the danger of bias'

International, which was not a party to the case but had been allowed to intervene.

"Confidence in the judiciary requires that independent and impartial judges are present from the lowest to the highest courts in the land," Ms Montgomery said. The ac-

ceptance of the law lords' decision was not just important for the citizens of this country, but "acceptance by the wider community" was at stake.

She said Lord Hoffmann's wife, Gillian, had worked for Amnesty International's international secretariat since 1977, dealing with press and publications.

Lord Hoffmann's links with Amnesty went back to 1962, when he represented the organisation in an appeal against the Charity Commissioners. In 1966, Amnesty International Charity Limited (AICL) was set up. In 1969, Lord Hoffmann and Peter Duffy QC — appearing for Amnesty International in the latest hearing — became the two directors of that com-

pany. Later, Lord Hoffmann became its chairman.

Ms Montgomery said the relationship with Amnesty was "a long-standing, deep-rooted family connection". The fact that Lord Hoffmann received no remuneration suggested a commitment to the organisation which "might give rise to a perception of bias".

Amnesty's report for 1998 indicated that AICL paid for a report on Chile. That report makes "plain and unequivocal reference to the Pinochet years and expresses plain and unequivocal views on what happened," she told the hearing.

Ms Montgomery said the test the Law Lords had to apply was "whether a fair-minded observer with knowledge of the objective facts

would have a reasonable apprehension of bias".

Gen Pinochet's lawyers say the leading case on judicial bias, Gough, has been wrongly interpreted by the English courts as requiring "actual though unconscious bias". They want the law lords to come into line with courts in Australia, Canada and Scotland, where a "real suspicion" of bias is enough.

They say the English courts' interpretation conflicts with article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights, the right to a fair trial before an impartial tribunal. The European Court in interpreting this has said: "Any judge in respect of whom there is a legitimate reason to fear a lack of impartiality must withdraw."

Blair says pivotal role bolsters UK

Michael White
Political Editor

TONY Blair yesterday defied the conventional wisdom of both sides in the battle over Europe when he insisted that Britain's pivotal role meant it did not have to make a "false choice" between the European Union and the United States. The Government could — and should — be close to both, he said.

"We are stronger with the US because of our strength in Europe; we are stronger in Europe because of our strength with the US," Mr Blair argued.

Although Britain's close economic, political and military relationship with the United States was vital, it also needed a leading role in the EU, "to take the European social model and revitalise it."

"It is time we started winning arguments, rather than running away" transform it, renew it," he said at a luncheon in London marking the 150th anniversary of the Associated Press.

After weeks of renewed Euro-turbulence which preceded the Vienna summit, the Prime Minister has told cabinet ministers to come out and "bat for Britain" on Europe, and confront William Hague's Euro-sceptic team and its media allies.

The Conservatives are equally determined to step up the pressure on Labour for what they see as a gradual "Euro-creep" towards a federal agenda, including membership of the single currency.

Mr Blair rejected the increasingly-voiced Thatcherite

view that Britain might do better by leaving the protectionist EU and joining the North Atlantic Free Trade Association (Nafta).

At the same time he implicitly ruled out the arch-Europhile insistence that Britain must "choose" Europe over Washington, ceasing to follow the US lead in political, diplomatic and military matters.

Supporters of European integration in all major parties believe successive governments have ducked that choice, naively imagining that the "special relationship" is too important to jeopardise. Suspicious continentalists like General de Gaulle saw Britain as America's "Trojan Horse."

Instead, the Prime Minister restated the classic Foreign Office position that "though Britain will never be the mightiest nation on earth, we can be pivotal."

Citing the close ties with the US — including \$50 billion worth of annual two-way trade — he insisted that America at its best is a powerful force for good in the world. But the national interest was equally well served by building alliances within Europe.

"We have deluded ourselves for too long with the false choice between the US and Europe. We live in a global economy and an interdependent world. Nations must maximise their influence where they can."

"To be a country of our size and population, and to be a permanent member of the UN Security Council, a nuclear power, a leading player in Nato [and] the Commonwealth, gives us huge advantages which we must exploit to the full."

He complained that sceptical newspapers accused him of battling for Brussels. "I see it as battling for Britain," Mr Blair said.

In doing so, the prime minister announced a new category of opponent: the "unintelligent sceptics" who see anything that happens in Europe as an excuse to be anti-European.

While intelligent sceptics accepted the importance of the EU to Britain, but feared that "unintelligent" allies constantly warned that policy changes — like signing the social chapter — would result in huge job losses, red tape and loss of investment.

"We are in the European Union because it is the right place to be. And as we are in, it is time we started winning arguments, rather than running away from them. There is no alternative."

Victorian way, page 12



Debby Sykes: fence is ugly

Plans by an order of Carmelite nuns to build a huge fence around their convent have upset local residents, writes Amelia Gentleman



The 11ft-high wall at the back of the convent in West Derby, Liverpool, on to which the nuns want to add a 6ft plastic fence

Sisters act to block out their curious new neighbours

WHEN residents of a Liverpool housing development moved into their homes last year, they were delighted to discover that the building next door was a Carmelite convent. No one could hope for more ideal neighbours than a group of reclusive nuns whose lives have been dedicated to silence and prayer.

It was not long, however, before the local community began to resent the order's passion for isolation. Now it has turned into a neighbourhood feud like no other.

To ensure that residents of the new development cannot watch them pray, the nuns have applied for planning permission to erect a 6ft-high green plastic fence on top of the existing 11ft wall which surrounds their convent.

But the request has distressed their neighbours, who fear the fence will be ugly and will block out the light.

Melira Spreng, who lives with her husband in one of houses on The Bryceway which back on to the con-

vent in West Derby, said: "We thought it would be nice to have nuns as neighbours because they are quiet and peaceful; that was one of the reasons why we chose to move here."

"People have paid a lot of money for these houses and most don't think it will be very nice to look out of their window at a fence."

Her neighbour, Lorraine Murphy, added: "There's no need for a fence. I've lived here 15 months and I've never seen a nun. It will make the place look

like a prison." Another resident, Debby Sykes, said: "I never would have moved in if I had known about the fence. It sounds horrible, ugly and totally unnecessary."

But Carmelite nuns value privacy very highly. They are an enclosed order who never leave convent property and rarely communicate with the outside world; their lives are regulated by a severe monastic discipline, under which they observe a rule of silence.

When the convent was built in 1907 it was far from the fringes of Liverpool — but over the years the city has crept closer.

In keeping with their vocation, the sisters were unavailable for comment yesterday. But they expressed their concerns in a recent newsletter.

"We find ourselves increasingly overlooked," it reads. "We have no privacy for our work, prayer, reading or simply walking in the garden. This is an essential part of our vocation because we have with-

drawn to live a hidden life of prayer."

Anxious not to antagonise their neighbours, the sisters say they appreciate their concerns about the height of the wall, but are adamant that they need their privacy.

Liverpool City Council's planning department has received 15 letters of objection from local residents and a petition containing 88 signatures.

A planning committee decision is expected next Wednesday.

what 'appears in Weymouth' he says to roars of applause.

Pig! Over to Groceries. Sir Edward Heath arrived in the Chamber for the pensions statement. Sitting in his immemorial seat below the gangway was Simon Hughes.

Sir Edward glared at him as balefully as Sir Bernard Ingham seeing his neighbour's Mercedes parked in the drive.

Then, his face set in ferocious determination, Sir Edward set off for his seat. Just in the nick of time Mr Hughes spotted him and managed to roll out of the way, half a second before the collision.

The iceberg had come seeking the Titanic, and missed.

Sketch

Simon Hoggart

WITH digital TV we will soon have 500 or even 1,000 channels to choose from, each devoted to a tiny niche market. But who needs TV when we've got the Houses of Parliament?

Brussels! The Pinochet Channel was showing the latest stage in the old brute's extradition proceedings in the House of Lords. Clare Montgomery QC was listing human rights abuses — murder, torture, that kind of thing

— and pointing out that he was, so far as many people were concerned, no better than Saddam Hussein, Pol Pot, Idi Amin and Marshal Mobutu.

You would have thought that the only conclusion possible from these terrible charges (Ms Montgomery had found them on a website: "I don't know if this is the first time your lordships have had a website cited," she said, skillfully) was that he should be returned home, slung to the tail fin of the plane with a boat hook through his nose.

However, the really weird thing is that Ms Montgomery was appearing on the general's behalf. She wasn't claim-

ing that he hadn't done these things; merely that Amnesty International had pointed out that he had, and that Lord Hoffmann sat on the board of Amnesty International.

I pondered what a plainly intelligent high-flying lawyer like Ms Montgomery is doing working for such a monster. No doubt it is the famous cab-rank system, that sacred lawyers' principle by which taxi drivers can turn off the light and pretend to be going home if they don't like the look of the fare.

Bweep! The Clare Short Channel in Room 6 was discussing European Union contributions to poorer countries. Did you know that the EU

gives only US\$70c (43p) per head to the very poorest countries, and twice as much to richer nations? But pointing that out makes me one of those lying, twisted Europhobes who infect the British press.

Poop! The Pigeon Channel had live coverage from Room 21 of food minister Jeff Rooker at the Agriculture Committee. Agriculture people talk almost entirely in jargon, but for us laymen it comes alarmingly to life. "The classic pig cycle has been disturbed," Mr Rooker said. It turned out that he meant that farmers had not produced, but my mind had already drifted off to the circus.

Jimmy Bertorelli's classic routine, in which his trained pig cycles across the high wire, is the hit of the circus. But the evil Max Grolsch, whose pathetic juggling sheep are often booted by the audience, is in love with the beautiful Maria Bertorelli. One night he creeps into the Bertorelli's caravan-cum-pigsty and saws through the brake cables.

Rip! The Dobson Channel is for lovers of old-fashioned northern comedy. Live from the Chamber, they have Dobson's best-loved routines of admiring that he just doesn't know. "It's no good jumping up and down, expecting me to know the details of

what 'appears in Weymouth' he says to roars of applause.

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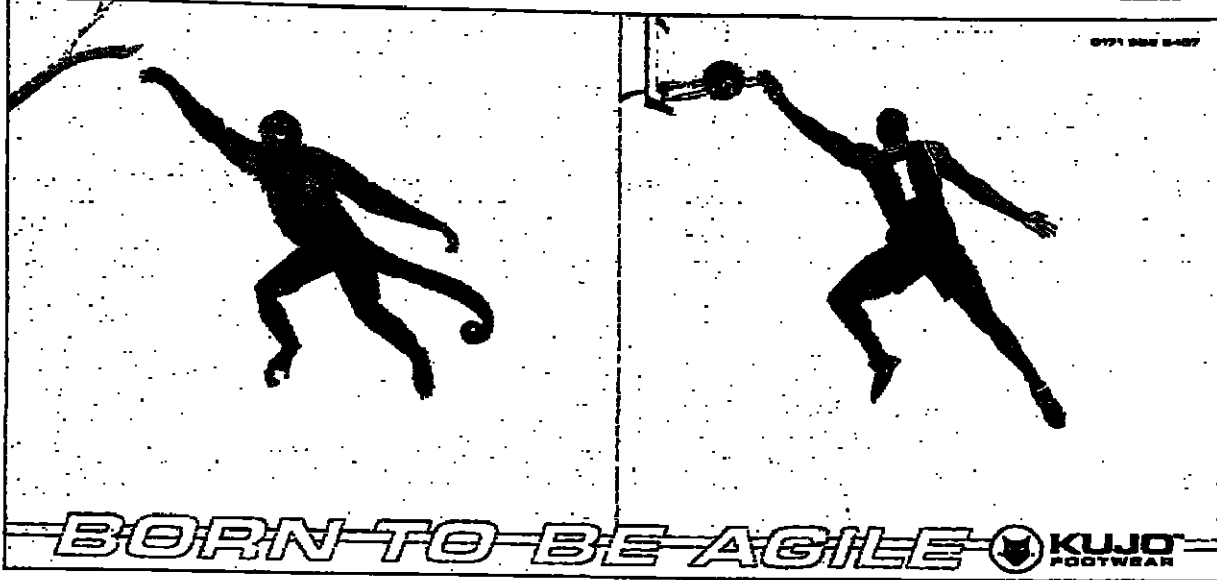
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Posters from a deliberately racist campaign run by the Commission for Racial Equality this year with the intention of encouraging debate on racist advertising. Both the tactic and the posters drew complaints



Race body's internal rows erupt in public

Alan Travis
Home Affairs Editor

A BACKROOM "purge" of two Michael Howard-appointed members of the Commission for Racial Equality erupted into the open yesterday after it emerged that one of them had sent ministers a highly critical dossier on how the body is run.

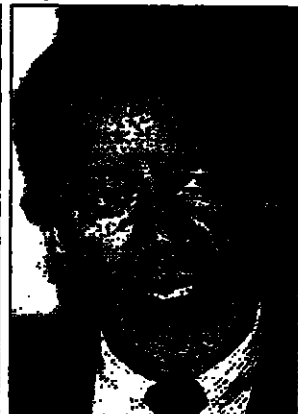
After her "retirement" from her CRE post in June, Blondel Cluff, a City solicitor, sent ministers a confidential report claiming that the race equality body had a "destructive and dangerous" approach to race relations, was wasting public funds and was riven by divisions.

The CRE's chairman, Sir Herman Ouseley, hit back yesterday, describing Mrs Cluff as a "spurned woman" and claiming she had been behind the Daily Telegraph's disclosure of the dossier because her two-year term as a commissioner had not been renewed. Last night the Home Office said she had not been reappointed "for good reasons".

Sir Herman said: "I am not getting involved in personal attacks but you are talking about a spurned woman. Her two-year term wasn't renewed when normally it is automatic. I don't think she had much to contribute. She came here with an agenda to shut down this organisation."

Mrs Cluff had been equally outspoken in her attack on the CRE. She claimed that the race equality body was "an inadequate organisation which spends vast sums of public money achieving very little other than self-promotion and self-perpetuation".

Mrs Cluff complained that many of the CRE's 12 commissioners came from affluent backgrounds and had little awareness of the problems faced by ethnic minorities. She also alleged that long-term staff were of poor quality and the dress code was more akin to a students' union than of a professional office.



'You are talking about a spurned woman. Her term wasn't renewed. She came here with an agenda to shut down this organisation'

— Sir Herman Ouseley, chairman of the CRE

livered a "trenchant" response.

Last night the Home Office underlined its support for the CRE: "We are very happy with the way it is being run. It is an independent body, which is how it should be. There were no plans to act further on Mrs Cluff's report."

Mrs Cluff was one of two CRE commissioners appointed by Mr Howard who did not carry on when their two-year terms expired on June 30. She applied unsuccessfully to have her term renewed. The other commissioner, Dame Simone Pendergast, a former Lady May, a former Westminister, ex-chairwoman of the Greater London Council, decided not to carry on.

Last night a spokeswoman for the CRE said that both had seen the body as "an irritation and an obstacle". She claimed that "the link between their political background and their agenda appears to have been obvious".

When their terms of office were coming to an end it was decided that the jobs should be advertised publicly for the first time. The four commissioners appointed by Jack Straw in April included two in their twenties, Shahid Malik and Mohammed Amran, and the Home Office stressed the commitment to youth in the statement accompanying their appointment.

The row about this "purge" of two Howard appointees follows accusations of racism over the CRE's "shock" posters. But the CRE has also recorded major successes, such as a strong campaign by the Ministry of Defence to recruit more black and Asian soldiers, a government commitment to ethnic recruitment targets across Whitehall and firm backing from Mr Straw for Sir Herman, who was reappointed chairman until 2002.



The allegations

Commission for Racial Equality is "damaging and destructive" to race relations and "chaotic and self-serving".
Home Office says it is "performing well".
Friction between the Afro-Caribbean and Asian members that leads to a "discriminatory atmosphere" within the CRE itself.

CRE staff claim not to have seen this hostile working environment.
Poor management of the £15 million annual budget.
Clean bill of health from senior Home Office official.
Promotion of an aggressive and hostile race relations ethos.
CRE says its successful Leadership Challenge programme means it works in

partnership with companies and others to promote racial equality.
Greater encouragement given to litigation than to conciliation.
CRE says that with its limited budget it pursues a policy of high-profile legal "test" cases to change attitudes rather than deal with every complaint.
Unrepresentative back-

ground of commissioners, with too many from affluent families, who are ignorant of the problems of the young.
Four new commissioners appointed in April 1998 after public advertisement. Two of them in their 20s and have specialist knowledge of youth issues.
An unwillingness to embrace "self-help" solutions

to problems faced by ethnic minority groups.
CRE say they fund local race equality councils to promote ethnic businesses and good community relations.
CRE should be wound up and merged into a division of a Human Rights Commission.
This is being considered by ministers, but predated Mrs Cluff's letter.

Libya backs proposal for Lockerbie trial in Holland

Ian Black
Diplomatic Editor

PROSPERITY for the surrender of the Lockerbie bombing suspects improved dramatically last night after Libya's General People's Congress said it accepted a British-American proposal for a trial in the Netherlands.

With days to go before the 10th anniversary of the worst terrorist incident in British

history, an announcement from Tripoli said the congress had "expressed satisfaction" with the offer, though it made no mention of handing over the two accused.

The Foreign Office said Britain needed a formal response from Libya via the United Nations, though it called initial reports "very encouraging". But one Tripoli-based diplomat said: "It means that they will hand over the suspects sooner rather than later."

Jim Swire, whose daughter, Flora, was one of the 270 victims of the bombing on December 21, 1988, said: "The fact that they now appear to have agreed to the handover is a crucial part of the process. But I think everyone involved will have learned enough by now to know that it's wise to wait until actual handover occurs before saying it is... in the bag."

Kofi Annan, the United Nations secretary general, who met Colonel Muammar Gaddafi 10 days ago, called the move "encouraging" but would say no more until he had met the Libyan ambassador to the UN. Britain's UN ambassador, Jeremy Greenstock, will be in close touch with Mr Annan, officials said last night.

In the past Libya has insisted that if Abdel Basset al-Megrahi and Lamen Khalifa Fhimah are convicted, they would have to serve their sentences in Libya or

Holland. But the US and Britain have rejected this, and said the issue is non-negotiable. Yesterday's Libyan statement may have been referring to this when it called for the "removal of obstacles". Tripoli also wants to be certain that UN sanctions, in force since 1992, will be effectively lifted when the men are surrendered.

Yesterday's resolution, read live on Libyan television, said: "[The Congress]

expresses its satisfaction with the agreement between the Libyan, British and American parties for the trial in a third country of the two suspects in the Lockerbie incident. It constitutes the fundamental basis to settle this issue."

"If [the Congress] demands these parties [Libya, the United States and Britain] work to remove any obstacle that prevents the two suspects standing trial before justice as soon as possible."

FA boss quits after scandal over £3.2m secret loan

continued from page 1

Mr Davies said that the vice-chairman, Geoff Thompson, would leave the FA in the immediate future and that Mr Davies himself would become acting executive director.

Mr Davies said he did not believe the scandal had tarnished the FA's reputation and that it would not affect the World Cup bid. "I don't believe this will affect footballing matters."

The FA also said Mr Kelly's resignation would not

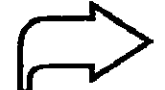
hamper its development plan for football and that ordinary fans could be reassured that the leadership of the English game was in good hands.

John Hughes, president of the Football Association of Wales, insisted there was "nothing sinister" in the loan.

"What has happened has upset me and I am quite shocked at the news of Graham's resignation because he is a great friend. The FA have lost a good man."

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£5 billion reforms unveiled

State pensions boost for low-paid

David Brindle, Social Services Correspondent

LOW-PAID workers would win a "dramatic" increase in state support in retirement under £5 billion pension reforms unveiled yesterday by Alistair Darling, the Social Security Secretary.

A new state second pension would at least double the value of the existing state earnings-related scheme (Serps) for 4 million employees earning less than £9,000 a year, the minister promised.

Abolition of Serps was the main surprise in a long-

Key points

- 20 per cent of average earnings to be minimum retirement income
- New state second pension to replace Serps, doubling value for low-paid (below £9,000 a year)
- Credits for 4 million carers and disabled ex-workers
- Low-cost stakeholder pensions aimed at 5 million people without occupational schemes
- Bigger rebate incentives for moderate earners (£9,000-£18,500) to leave state scheme and take out stakeholder/occupational pensions
- Higher earners (£18,500-plus) unaffected

awaited green paper which steers clear of compelling workers to put more money aside for their old age — although the self-employed could ultimately face the same existing requirements as employees.

Instead of extending compulsion, the strategy relies on incentives to lure up to 5 million middle-income earners into new "stakeholder" pensions.

Mr Darling told the Commons: "I strongly believe that these incentives are fairer and more effective than increasing compulsion."

"I do not think it's the Gov-

ernment's job to make life harder for the person on £12,000 with two children and a mortgage to pay. I want to help middle earners, not penalise them."

The lack of compulsion last night raised doubts in the pensions industry about the effectiveness of the strategy, which appears to be a markedly less radical blueprint than had been foreshadowed.

Martin Clarke, general manager of the Co-operative Insurance Society, said the proposals could make a real difference.

"However, for stakeholder pensions to be successful without compulsion, people will need to be fully convinced of the benefits and reassured that they will not make the wrong choice," he added.

There was also disappointment among welfare groups working with older people.

Mervyn Kohler, head of public affairs at the charity Help the Aged, described the green paper as "weak and disappointing". He said: "The Government has let a great opportunity slip through its hands."

By contrast, there was a warm welcome from carers' organisations for confirmation that ministers plan to give pension credits, under the new state second scheme, to people looking after dependent relatives or children under five and to long-term disabled people with broken employment records.

At least 4 million people, mostly women, are expected to benefit from these credits by 2050. They would be treated as if they had annual earnings of £9,000 and their pensions would be boosted by up to £50 a week in today's terms.

Francine Bates, acting chief executive of the Carers' National Association, said: "This is something we have campaigned for for many years."

"It's recognition of the fact that people who are providing care should be fully compensated."

The pensions overhaul has been triggered by official forecasts that, on present trends, one in three pensioners could be depending on income sup-



Pam Blackmore-Davey with her wheelchair-bound husband Graham... facing 'daunting' future

PHOTOGRAPH: TIM CLIFF

port by the middle of the next century.

Previous attempts to encourage workers to make greater provision for themselves have met mixed results. Moreover, Serps is considered by the Government to do little for the low-paid because it is income-related.

The green paper sets a target of 20 per cent of average earnings, or £75 a week in current terms, as a minimum income for the retired.

From next April, this will be a "guarantee" for people — though they will still have to claim an income support top-up of their basic state pension to get it.

Thereafter, ministers say their aim is to raise the guarantee broadly in line with earnings while the basic pension increases only with prices.

While this harks back to the policy before 1980, when the basic pension was indexed to earnings, the basic

scheme alone was then worth 21 per cent of average male earnings.

The new state second scheme, which like Serps would be on an unfunded, pay-as-you-go basis, would take effect no earlier than 2002. Serps would be closed, but accrued entitlements would be honoured. By 2050 the new scheme would mean all people in retirement had pensions worth 20 per cent of average earnings.

The scheme would offer relatively high rebates — double the existing £5 a week at the £9,000 salary point — to people to contract-out into stakeholder or occupational funds. After five years, when stakeholder funds were approved and established, the second state scheme would become flat-rate and higher benefits would continue to be available only as rebates to those contracted-out. Thus ministers expect only the low-paid to remain in the second scheme.

The costs of the reforms are put at an eventual £5 billion extra a year, net of substantial savings in income support, compared to the £30 billion cost of increasing the basic pension in line with earnings.

By 2050, it is forecast, the basic pension cost would have switched from the present 60-60 percentage split between state and private sources to one of 40-60.

Mr Darling was doubtless relieved that his proposals

Credits aimed at easing carers' financial plight

Helen Carter

PAM Blackmore-Davey has been caring for her partially sighted and wheelchair-bound husband Graham since his multiple stroke six-and-a-half years ago.

Former motor mechanic Mr Blackmore-Davey began paying into a private pension scheme less than a year before he became ill. His wife said because he had been paying into the fund for such a short time, he failed to qualify for any pension and the policy ceased.

His wife had no pension scheme of her own in her job as a commercial printer for a small firm, so the couple will have to rely on the state for support. Under the proposals announced by Alistair Darling, they will be given credits as part of the state second pension, to reward her work as an unpaid carer.

Mr Darling said the new system will offer "dramatically better" pension provision to those such as the 2.5 million people, mostly women, who care for young children or sick relatives.

The new proposals are underpinned by a new minimum income guarantee from April 1999, which will be increased year by year "as resources allow," with the long-term aim being that it should rise in line with earnings.

"I think it is a good idea, but I hope that the Government does not change its mind about the credits in a few years time," Mrs Blackmore-Davey, aged 50, said.

She lives with her husband, 64, and 17-year-old son in Newton Abbot, Devon, and receives £122-a-week in benefits.

"I cannot go out to work because I would have to pay someone to come in and look after my husband," she said. "I am 10 years on pensionable age and there is no way I could earn enough money at work during that time to make a difference to a decent pension."

"Graham feels very guilty about being a burden. As well as all the bills to pay, we also have to buy equipment to make life easier for him. The £122 we receive every week has to pay for everything — bills, food and clothes." Despite the reforms, she described their future as pensioners as "very daunting".

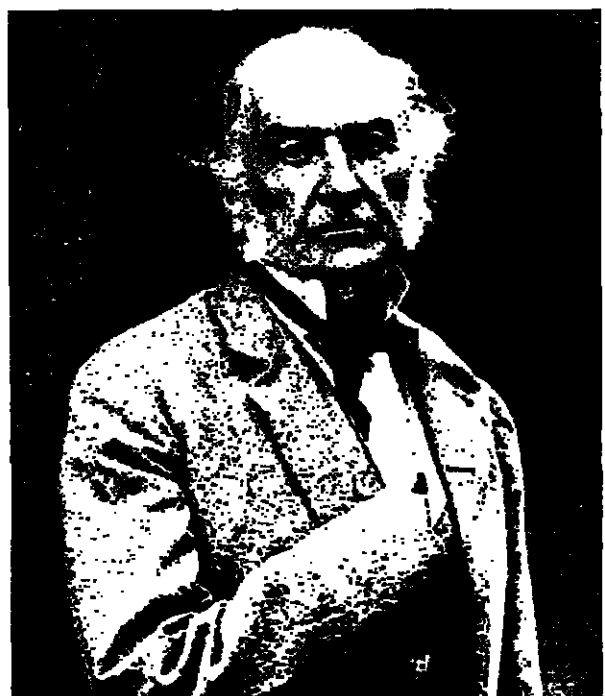
were not criticised by Frank Field, the former welfare reform minister who has argued for radical change.

Mr Field described the carers' credits as being "a most welcome initiative indeed".

However, the Liberal Democrat social security spokesman Steve Webb said: "This is not a big vision — it is detail."

"It is not up to the size of the problem."

Leader comment, page 9



Blair's vision is for the Labour Party to become, as Gladstone's Liberals were last century, a 'broad coalition' of those who believe in progress and justice. MAIN PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ANGLIS

Blair's praise for the Liberal Victorian way

Michael White on the PM's not-so-hidden agenda to emulate Gladstone's Liberals

TONY Blair yesterday made explicit his ambition to change the Labour Party from a class-based radical party of the left — with a socialist economic agenda — into a broadly-based progressive coalition like the Victorian Liberal Party in its Gladstonian prime.

In a speech in London the Prime Minister set out his vision of New Labour as a government of the centre-left committed to what he called

"enterprise and fairness together, the Third Way."

Yesterday Mr Blair made no mention of the S-word, socialism. "My vision for New Labour is to become, as the Liberal Party was in the 19th century, a broad coalition of those who believe in progress and justice, not a narrow class-based politics, but a party founded on clear values, whose means of implementation changes with the generations."

That goes further than before

in confirming his support for the thesis, popularised by his Labour-turned-Liberal Democrat mentor, Lord (Roy) Jenkins of Hillhead, that deepening Lib-Lab rivalry since the 1920s — when Labour overtook the divided party of Asquith and Lloyd George — has merely guaranteed Tory hegemony for most of the 20th century.

The "broad coalition for progress and justice" reached its apogee under William Ewart Gladstone, four times prime minister, loved, hated and mocked in equal measure for his passionate search for solutions to the problems of power and morality.

He fought a protracted battle

with Disraeli for the votes of the newly-enfranchised middle and skilled working classes. Strong among non-conformists, the provincial middle class, radicals and realists, Gladstone's Liberal Party was also that of the industrial entrepreneur, criticised by both paternalistic Tories and the emerging Labour movement for its lack of concern for the underclass.

After "Grand Old Man" death, the "New Liberalism" elected in the 1906 landslide — the last victory of the left comparable to May 1997 — embarked on a state of social reform, including state pensions and a minimum wage. Labour MPs, sponsored by the unions, supported it.

The rise of Labour, wedded to a powerful interventionist state, after 1918 fractured that first Lib-Lab coalition. Though deeply unpopular with most senior colleagues, Mr Blair's generosity to Paddy Ashdown, his granting of a Lib-Lab cabinet committee, his growing commitment to electoral reform, his pro-Europeanism and pro-business stance, all suggest he wants to reconstruct it.

On both sides of the Atlantic intellectuals have been engaged in fleshing out a credible meaning for the Third Way as Labour's big idea: an alternative to both the laissez-faire capitalism of the Thatcher-Reagan model and

Labour's old Clause 4 socialism.

They range from Christian socialism, communitarian ideas from the United States, and stakeholding — giving workers and other groups direct ownership of shares and pension rights — as well as concepts of social solidarity imported from Catholic traditions in the EU.

In China this autumn Mr Blair suggested that Beijing's market reforms are edging the world's largest Marxist state towards the Third Way.

Critics have unkindly suggested that Mussolini, the Italian ex-socialist who became the fascist Duce, was a Third Way man too.

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11 years for Barnardo's child abuser

Martin Wainwright

A FORMER house parent at a Barnardo's home was jailed for 11 years yesterday, to jeers from victims who after 20 years came forward to expose his cruelty and sexual abuse.

Philip Dunne, aged 52, and married with four children, had "lived in fear that this day of judgement would eventually come".

York crown court was told. His secret, kept during an career in child care and later in computer management, was revealed when one victim contacted police last year. Working with Barnardo's, which described the case yesterday as "devastating", North Yorkshire police took evidence from a further 12 men and a woman who had lived at Spring Hill Barnardo's home in Ripon between 1967 and 1974.

The court heard that Dunne was taken on as an unqualified carer at the home for children with behavioural difficulties, which has now been closed. Sexually abused himself as a teenager, he used threats and "emotional grooming" to abuse some children, and bullied others by spanking and forcing them to strip in public.

Judge Arthur Myerson told Dunne, of Worcester, that children had gone to Spring Hill as a refuge only to find themselves at his mercy. He said: "To take advantage of such children



Philip Dunne: had been abused himself when young

is all the more unpleasant — wicked even — because they were in your care and every one of them was there because of intellectual or emotional problems."

Nigel Sangster QC, defending, said Dunne had been abused by men when young, and considered it normal until he married in 1973. He then "realised the error of his behaviour and stopped. Since then he has led a productive, decent and law-abiding life."

"He is aware that what he did was appalling, and he feels full of remorse."

Ten of Dunne's victims and their families, who will be seeking compensation, shouted insults from the gallery as he was led away.

A Barnardo's spokesman, John Tebbert, said the charity had co-operated fully with police and reinforced measures to prevent such abuse happening again.

World in darkness to celebrate new light cast on Eros

Maew Kennedy Heritage Correspondent

LIGHTS are going out all over the world this afternoon, to mark the passing of an era: the beginning of the end of neon in Piccadilly Circus.

All the advertising lights around Eros, and for the first time ever all the Coca-Cola signs in capital cities all over the world will be turned off for 15 minutes in

a global ceremony to mark the switch-on of the company's new computer-controlled digital sign in London.

"This is going to make everything else look very old-fashioned. There is nothing like this sign anywhere in the world," said its designer, Mick Nash, whose team at the design firm Sedley Place have been working on it for two years.

"It's not just the technol-

ogy, but the combination of the design and the technology which is revolutionary."

The digital sign, which is replacing the neon, has a library of computer-generated images, projected on to 36 glass screens able to change pictures, messages and colours in a second, and respond to weather, time of day and light levels.

In hot weather the sign — the most hi-tech of its kind — will appear to sweat and

melt; when a gale blows it will show a flapping flag. It already holds half an hour's worth of images, and it is intended to expand it so that no matter how long people on the Clapham omnibus spend stuck in a traffic jam, they will never see the same image twice.

Although its neighbours, including signs for Sanyo and McDonald's, are all still neon, Mr Nash thinks his sign will have them scratching their heads, and

may presage the end of neon in the Circus.

"Neon will always have its place, for shop window displays or quirky awkward corners, but even if they are very long skinny light bulbs you're basically talking about using a series of switches to turn the bulbs on and off — it's all a bit agricultural really."

"Its day has really passed for such a high profile site."

The new sign, though,

contains a designer's joke about the old and new: one image is of a neon sign, which is washed away by a rising tide of Coca-Cola.

The Piccadilly signs which once formed a wall of light around the Circus, have been confined to the Shaftesbury Avenue corner after a change of planning policy 10 years ago by Westminster council, which has insisted on reinstatement of sober classical facades on the other sides.

Turtle doves may leave

Paul Brown Environment Correspondent

TWELVE days of Christmas are incomplete without two turtle doves and a partridge in a pear tree, but a report published yesterday says both species are fast disappearing from the countryside.

The population of the grey or English partridge has fallen by 78 per cent in 25 years, to an estimated 150,000 pairs. Turtle doves, the smallest and most distinctive of

British species, fared even worse: down to 50,000 pairs, 15 per cent of their original numbers, according to the British Trust for Ornithology.

The Game Conservancy Trust believes that these wild birds are dying out due to lack of food, the insects they need to feed their young having been eradicated by intensive farming. The trust, English Nature, and the World Wide Fund for Nature have begun a three year study of how to reverse the decline.

The turtle dove nests in open woodland and scrub.

John 10:1-50

Met officers face bank account scrutiny in anti-corruption drive

Duncan Campbell
Crime Correspondent

AN anti-corruption strategy launched yesterday by the Metropolitan police includes inspecting private bank accounts of officers joining specialist squads, and encouraging all officers to inform on corrupt colleagues.

Sir Paul Condon, the Met's commissioner, described the strategy as the most comprehensive in the world, aiming to end the cyclical nature of corruption. "No one should underestimate our determination to pursue relentlessly and prosecute corrupt and dishonest members of staff

Tribunal rules that North Yorkshire woman police officer was discrimination victim

Martin Wainwright

A POLICE force humiliated any some of the most rancorous sex discrimination cases of recent years lost another yesterday, when one of its highest-ranking former women officers was vindicated by an industrial tribunal.

Claims of prejudice up to the level of North Yorkshire's former chief constable were upheld in the case brought by retired Chief Inspector Lyn Smith, 46, who left the force on medical grounds earlier this year.

She had listed a catalogue of blocked promotion, humiliating sex jokes by a comedian at a force dinner, and alleged

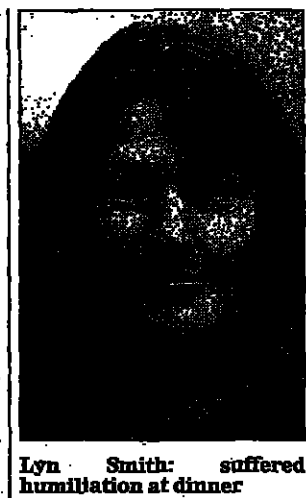
queries by former chief constable David Burke about whether she was gay.

the force. She told the tribunal in Leeds that she was continually overlooked for promotion during her 25-year career and nearly driven to suicide over rumours that she was a lesbian.

She named Mr Burke and other senior officers as having been involved in the homophobic attack. North Yorkshire's new chief constable, David Kenworthy, in January, involved in the gossip.

The slurs had grown after she split with her husband and fellow North Yorkshire officer, David Short, and sought help from Cheltenham's Hester, a friend and then the most senior woman in the force.

The tribunal chairman, Anthony Simpson, ruled that



British Psychological Society conference



England cricket captain Alec Stewart in Adelaide yesterday as Australia won the third Test, retaining the Ashes

Smile for victory, England's cricketers told

Sarah Boseley

ENGLAND'S cricketers may have won the Ashes. If they had gone about their task in a more cheerful mood, according to a psychologist yesterday.

Peter Totterdell of the University of Sheffield, who has studied the mood swings of 33 county cricketers, found that the number of runs batsmen score and the number of wickets taken by bowlers can be influenced by the way they feel.

The players, from Yorkshire, Leicester and Durham

The computers had rating scales for moods described as happy, tense, energetic, for enthusiasm, focus, confidence and performance. On each day of a match, the players recorded their feelings before and after play, and during the lunch and tea intervals. They also rated their view of their own performance, team communication, and confidence.

Dr Tottenham told the conference that those between

Tate's tree underwhelms

Dan Glaister
Arts Correspondent

SOME grey metal shelving, a few builders' lamps ... welcome to Christmas. Tate Gallery style.

After last year's wheelie bin and 1993's tree hung upside down, this year's Tate Christmas tree, by artist Richard Wilson, conveys a rather subdued message. Certainly it attracted little attention from visitors yesterday, most of whom seemed to assume that it was part of the gallery's

centenary development building work.
The structure of shelving units — incorporating a metal Christmas tree and lamps poking through holes drilled in the shelves — intentionally carries no message, according to the artist.

"It doesn't actually mean anything," said Wilson, known for his oil tank installation at the Saatchi Gallery, and for drilling a large hole in the floor of the Serpentine Gallery.

"There's no message. It just means it's Christmas."

"Actually it's a relief not



Tree time . . . Ministers want a planting programme

Ban on 'conifer only' plantations declared

Paul Brown
Environment Correspondent

The first strategy for English forests was published yesterday with a banning of conifer-only plantations and a new emphasis on recreation and public access.

The plan will be used to reclaim old mine and quarry workings, and to purify the soil on contaminated land and the air near roads and in cities.

The Government plans to spend around £30 million a year planting new trees — reversing Conservative policy, under which woodland was to be raised £30 million a year.

Only 7 per cent of England is now covered with trees, the lowest figure for any European country apart from Iceland, where the forest stand is 50.9 hectares a year and the

Elliot Morley, minister for Fisheries and countryside, said yesterday the emphasis was on the right selection of trees in the right place. "Planting conifers simply for commercial reasons is no longer going to be the case in England," he said.

Mr Morley wants to see woodland created on areas including farmland, like the heathland at Broom's Barn, and on neglected areas, like the old railway sidings at Broom's Barn. "Trees will be planted for environmental and recreational reasons as well for timber, with public access and nature conservation as important priorities," he said.

Conservation groups were delighted by the proposals, including the decision to restore heathland, raised bogs and other habitats.

The Forestry Commission is taking the seed for the native trees. It has been discovered that seed of oak

Girls do better without a father in the house

Sarah Boseley
Health Correspondent

GIRLS experience less distress than boys in a lone parent family, and some may even suffer fewer adolescent emotional difficulties when they are brought up with just their mother than those who have two parents at home, according to research presented at the London conference yesterday.

Tony Cassidy and Heidi Brunning from Coventry university believe that behind their findings lie the strong relationships mothers tend to make with their daughters in lone parent families.

Their research focused on 156 boys and girls aged 15-16. They found, as have other studies, that on the whole

girls were in a state of greater emotional distress than boys, whatever their home background, because of worries about body image and other adolescent issues.

But where the parents had split up and children were living with both parents, the boys tended to be more distressed than girls — and girls in a lone parent family were less distressed than those living with two parents.

Dr Cassidy said the crucial factor was how family members related to each other. Girls living with their mothers reported that they were encouraged to be more independent, and were subjected to less structure and control, than did girls in two parent families. Boys found the opposite.

It seems to be suggested from the research that, as Dr Cassidy said, "that as a divorcee

Inspector's censure of Iraq risks new clash

Ian Black,
and Mark Tran in New York

BITRAIN and the United States could face a new confrontation with Iraq today as the United Nations' chief arms inspector publishes a damning account of Baghdad's failure to comply with weapons monitoring.

With both Washington and London insisting yesterday that they are sticking to their threat of punitive attacks without warning, diplomats predicted that Richard Butler, head of the UN special commission, Unscm, might trigger a Christmas crisis in the Gulf.

Under threat of US and British air strikes, Iraq promised in mid-November to resume full co-operation with inspectors and allow unfettered access to both sites and documents.

But British officials yesterday cited Iraq's refusal to allow inspection of the Ba'ath party in Baghdad on December 9, Iraq's new conditions for inspecting sensitive sites, the refusal to allow inspections on Fridays, and attempts to impose restrictions on interviewing Iraqi personnel and the use of helicopters by Unscm.

Iraq has also failed to provide documents, including one snatched from UN inspectors this year detailing the use of chemical munitions during Iraq's eight-year war against Iran.

"Butler's report will be pretty definitive but factual and won't have any spin," said a senior Foreign Office source. "But we said last time we wouldn't give any warning next time we acted. No decisions have been taken, but people are gearing up for Iraq being a serious issue in the next few days."

Russia and France, Iraq's closest supporters on the UN Security Council, would be

certain to oppose any new military action, so a likely alternative would be for the US and Britain to drop support for a comprehensive review of policy towards Iraq, held out to Saddam Hussein as a carrot to induce co-operation.

The Iraqis believe such a review offers the quickest route to lifting the tough economic sanctions imposed after the 1990 invasion of Kuwait. But Washington and London insist there is no link, and a review will only show what Iraq needs to do to fully disarm.

Under the ceasefire resolution at the end of the Gulf war in 1991, sanctions against the sale of oil — the mainstay of Iraq's economy — cannot be lifted until Unscm and the International Atomic Energy Agency certify that Iraq's weapons of mass destruction have been destroyed.

Iraq yesterday launched a pre-emptive attack in advance of Mr Butler's latest report card. In its version of events, it blamed "provocative and intrusive" behaviour by inspectors for the standoff at the Ba'ath party office.

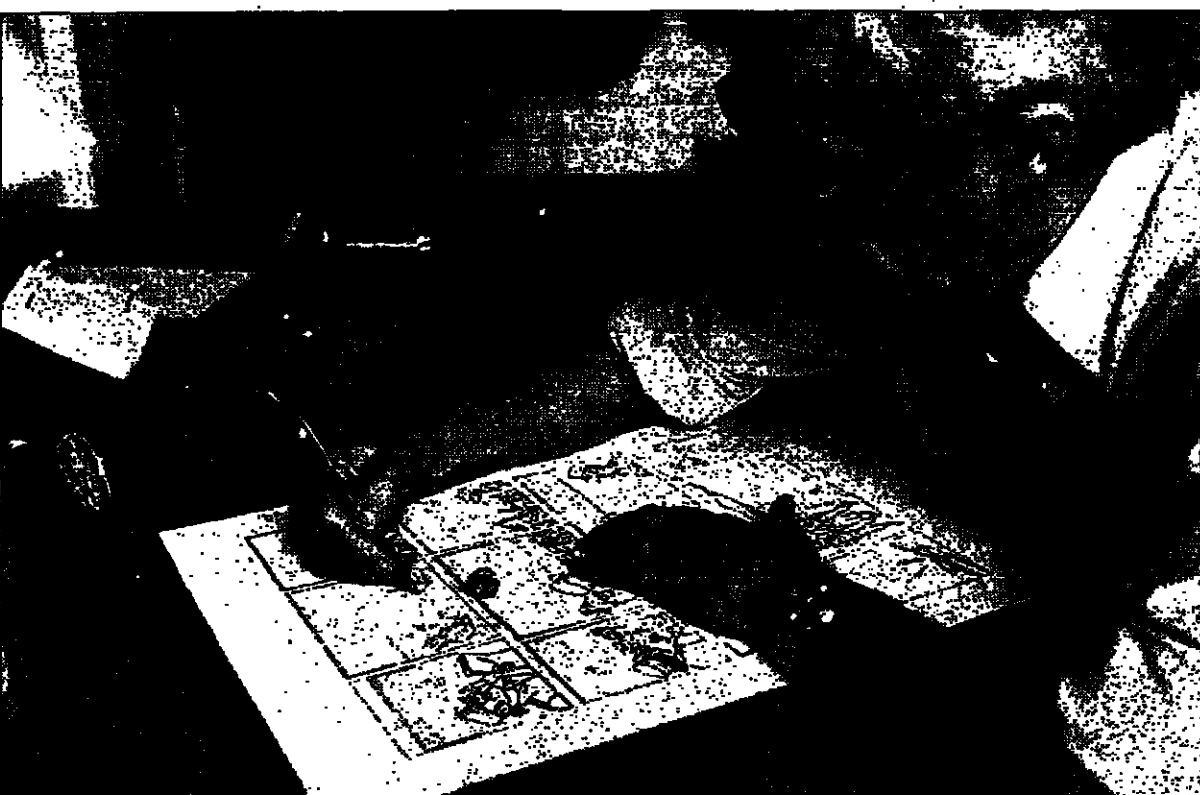
It also argued that UN inspectors had failed to follow procedures laid down in a June 1996 memorandum agreed to by Rolf Ekeus, Mr Butler's predecessor as head of Unscm, which laid down "modalities" for inspecting sensitive sites.

The memo said teams of only four inspectors should visit such sites. But Unscm argues that those modalities proved unworkable and have been superseded by procedures providing for immediate and unconditional entry. In the December 9 run-in, Iraqi officials allowed four inspectors to tour the site's yard.

Iraqi documents gave a day-by-day account of inspections, although Unscm insists this is incomplete. Most of the visits detailed by Baghdad occurred without incident.

But in letters to the Security Council, Mr Butler has complained about Iraqi interference with inspections. In one letter, Mr Butler accused Iraq of refusing to explain why and where equipment and micro-organisms thought to be associated with biological weapons had been moved during the break in inspections last month.

Tintin at 70



France strips away legend of its favourite adopted son

Tintin's spiritual home will be marking his birthday with gravity, writes Jon Henley in Paris

TINTIN, the quiffed cartoon character whose adventures have sold more than 175 million albums around the world, is nearly 70 years old and, in France, his spiritual if not his actual home, is preparing to mark the great event with some suitably Gallic gravity.

As befits a country that accords the same kind of status to intellectuals as others do to rock stars, the birthday of the boy reporter will be celebrated in France — where 44 per cent

of families own a Tintin book — with impassioned debates in the national assembly and earnest newspaper articles dissecting the hero's precise political affiliations.

The Communist Party newspaper, *L'Humanité*, is to reprint parts of the earliest Tintin tale, a rabidly anti-communist work that portrayed him discovering the worst excesses of Stalinism.

It will also publish a special report asking whether Tintin might have been

right about the Reds after all.

Tintin au Pays des Soviets was so crudely critical of 1920's Moscow and its wild-eyed Bolsheviks that it was never re-issued in the 22-strong series of Tintin comics: fans had to be content with a photocopy version or pay a high price for a rare original edition.

The paper will also publish a "critical assessment" of Tintin's creator, the Belgian cartoonist Hergé, who gave birth to the character in the Brussels daily *Le Petit Vingtième* on January 10 1929.

Hergé, whose real name was Georges Rémi and who died in 1983, has been accused of "passive collabora-

tion" with Belgium's Nazi occupiers during the second world war.

In his earlier works Hergé did appear to turn Tintin into a mouthpiece for fascism and imperialism, but Tintin's politics took a significant turn to the left as his creator aged.

"The fascinating thing about Tintin is that he just doesn't stand still politically," said Dominique Bussereau, a conservative MP who chairs France's 60-strong Parliamentary Tintinophile Club and is organising the National Assembly debate, tabled for February 3.

"It is true that the earliest books, Tintin au Pays des Soviets and Tintin au Congo,



Hergé (above left), who died in 1983, created 22 Tintin comic album adventures

are right wing in their rejection of the Bolshevik revolution and espousal of Belgian imperialism in the Congo.

"But he later became pro-Third World, siding with the oppressed and fighting against imperialism and authoritarianism."

Tintin's last adventure, *Tintin and the Picaros*, has the intrepid reporter backing rebel guerrillas against

the tin-pot Marshall Kurritash, in King Ottokar's Sceptre, he plots against the dictator Mussler — an amalgam of Mussolini and Hitler.

"Despite his changing sympathies," concluded Mr Bussereau, "Tintin's appeal is still so universal that General de Gaulle was probably right to say he was his only serious international rival."

Envoy's warning to Kosovo factions

Chris Bird in Pristina

RICHARD Holbrooke, the United States' envoy to the Balkans, warned Serbs and ethnic Albanians yesterday that they were "playing with dynamite" by continuing to resort to violence in the battle for control of Kosovo.

Mr Holbrooke was speaking on a lightning visit to the province after more than 30 people were killed during the worst day of bloodshed since an unofficial ceasefire was agreed in October.

The violence has raised fears for the safety of the 2,000 unarmed observers of the Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM) who will soon be deployed there.

"We are determined to continue our efforts and we want all people to understand they are playing with dynamite," Mr Holbrooke told reporters in the regional capital of Pristina.

The safety of KVM is absolutely essential, they are unarmed here and under absolute guarantees of their safety by the Yugoslav authorities in writing.

He said progress towards a political settlement was essential and reiterated that an activation order for the Nato strikes had not been lifted.

On Monday morning, Yugoslav soldiers killed 31 ethnic Albanian separatists of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), who were part of a 140-strong group trying to smuggle

arms and supplies into Kosovo.

"Our initial feelings are that this was a normal military operation... and not a set-up," one of the international monitors said. He said the rest of the 140 KLA members were scattered in the region.

Later on Monday six Serbs, five of them teenagers, were killed in the west Kosovan town of Pec when gunmen opened fire in a bar. The Serb media have claimed the attack was ethnically motivated.

Later on Tuesday there were reports of artillery fire around Kusanin and the neighbouring village of Lubidza and witnesses reported seeing several hundred army troops in the area.

Mr Holbrooke met the Yu-

goslav leader Slobodan Milosevic later in the day in Belgrade to try and breathe some life into stalemated peace talks.

Mr Holbrooke, who helped to broker the fragile peace which ended the three-year war in Bosnia, cut a deal with Mr Milosevic in October in which the Serb leader saw off Nato air strikes by agreeing to withdraw some of his security forces from Kosovo.

Part of the October deal was Mr Milosevic's agreement to unarmed international monitors to "verify compliance" with the accord.

But with the shaky ceasefire apparently in tatters, the Nato secretary-general, Javier Solana, joined Mr Holbrooke in voicing concern for the

monitors' safety. Western officials were anticipating an upsurge in fighting when the winter snows melt next spring. But all sides said yesterday they feared the escalation had already begun.

Adam Denzai, the KLA's political chief, added: "The situation is escalating and we fear more incidents of this kind could happen in the future."

The unarmed monitors are caught in the middle because they have no peacekeeping mandate. Britain currently fields 70 observers and plans to bring the total up to 200.

About 1,700 Nato troops are deploying this week in neighbouring Macedonia to set up a so-called "extinction force" of airborne troops to rescue monitors in danger. But Mr Milose-

vic said in an interview at the weekend that any Nato troops entering Kosovo would be attacked by Yugoslav troops.

He is likely to hear tough words from Mr Holbrooke on the issue, who would give no details of what he planned to discuss with the Yugoslav president.

"Diplomacy is sometimes a dangerous business and nowhere more so than in the Balkans," Mr Holbrooke said in reference to three French diplomats killed on Monday — members of his own negotiating team in Bosnia died in similar circumstances in 1995.

"The safety of the Kosovo verifiers is of the utmost importance. These men and women are unarmed, they do a very dangerous job."

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Knows no boundaries

Pope equates consumerism with Fascism in angry attack on markets

John Hooper in Rome

THE Pope lashed out at capitalism yesterday in his strongest reunciation to date of the global economy. He linked the financial crisis in the Far East with the activities of market speculators, and put the impact of consumerism on a par with those of some of the most odious doctrines of history, including Nazism.

The strictures were contained in a sporadic, nationalist and ethnic exclusivism. Before our eyes we have the results of ideologies such as Marxism, Nazism and fascism, and also of myths like racial superiority, nationalism and ethnic exclusivism.

"No less pernicious, though not always as obvious, are the effects of materialistic consumerism, in which the exploitation of the individual and the selfish satisfaction of personal aspirations become the ultimate goal of life."

Since the fall of communism, the Pope has increasingly concentrated his fire on the shortcomings of capitalism. But he has never

gone so far in deploring its consequences. He writes: "The rapid advancement towards the globalisation of economic and financial systems also illustrates the urgent need to establish who is responsible for guaranteeing the



The Pope: "We need a new vision of global progress"

gone so far in deploring its consequences. He writes: "The rapid advancement towards the globalisation of economic and financial systems also illustrates the urgent need to establish who is responsible for guaranteeing the

global common good and the exercise of economic and social rights. The free market by itself cannot do this, because in fact there are many human needs which have no place in the market."

He adds: "The effects of the recent economic and financial crises have had heavy consequences for countless people, reduced to conditions of extreme poverty."

"Many of them had only just begun to find a position which allowed them to look to the future with optimism. Through no fault of their own, they have seen these hopes cruelly dashed, with tragic results for themselves and their children."

"And how can we ignore the effects of fluctuations in the financial markets? We urgently need a new vision of global progress in solidarity, which will enable all people to realise their potential."

New fraud claims hit Brussels

Stephen Bates in Strasbourg

THERE were renewed allegations of financial incompetence and mismanagement in the European Commission yesterday as MEPs in Strasbourg prepared for a knife-edge vote which could lead to all 20 commissioners being expelled from office.

Another allegation about European Union mis-spending was the last thing the commissioners want as the European Parliament votes tomorrow on

whether to pass the 1996 budget — a decision already delayed since March by claims of financial irregularities and fraud in EU projects.

But it came with the leak of a confidential report on the contract to run Europe's £400 million Leonardo project, which supervises training for unemployed youngsters.

The 30-page audit report, drawn up only last week by the commission's financial control unit, alleges that Agencor SA, the Belgian company which won the contract to run the project, evaded tax,

and claim that new procedures are changing the official culture in Brussels.

But the Leonardo report calls for, at least, an improvement in the management of the project by EU officials and the removal of the director.

A procedural vote in the parliament tomorrow on whether to accept the EU's final budget for 1996 is too close to call. If the budget is rejected there would be no alternative to a vote of censure, which could lead to the expulsion of the 20 commissioners in their last year in office.

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TheGuardianShop

John Hooper



President Clinton listens to a choir sing carols in Bethlehem with Hillary and, far right, Chelsea, Yasser Arafat and Mr Arafat's wife Suha

Netanyahu puts West Bank deal in doubt

David Sharrack in Jerusalem

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton ended his three-day visit to the Middle East on a sour note last night after he failed to persuade the Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, to keep the Wye River security agreement on track.

Mr Clinton put a brave face on his three-way meeting with Mr Netanyahu and the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, yesterday morning, but Israel is not expected to honour a Friday deadline for the second-stage withdrawal from the West Bank.

"I have achieved what I came here to achieve," Mr Clinton said, adding that he hoped that the Wye timetable would not begin to slip.

But Mr Netanyahu rebuked Mr Clinton for drawing comparison between the children of Palestinian prisoners and those of murdered Israelis, and issued a new list of alleged Palestinian violations of the Wye agreement.

"We don't agree to the balance, the comparison," he said. "I don't know what the president meant by it, but it came out as though there's a comparison between the suffering of the children of the murderers and the children of those who were murdered."

Mr Netanyahu restated his policy of refusing to free Palestinians "with blood on their hands".

No amount of pressure will force us to release terrorist murderers... no amount of pressure will force us to make withdrawals when the Palestinians don't carry out their part," he said.

Later, a senior Israeli defence force member predicted that the prisoners issue could ignite more serious unrest in the West Bank unless it was resolved soon.

Mr Netanyahu now faces a no-confidence motion scheduled for Monday. Many commentators believe that his harsh handling of the US president has only worsened his precarious position.

Under pressure from his far-right supporters, Mr Netanyahu can apparently survive only by abandoning the

Wye agreement. His chief aide yesterday announced that a decision on elections was imminent.

On a day dominated by the tension over Mr Netanyahu's refusal to respond more generously to a Palestinian vote which formally renounced the aim of destroying Israel, Mr Arafat refused to make any comment on the summit, which broke up without a photograph or joint statement.

But the Palestinian negotiator Nabil Sharrat accused Mr Netanyahu of seeking any excuse to delay returning land.

"They [Israel] came [to the summit] with the absolute intention of destroying it as a chance for again saving the peace process," he said. "We have done all our required commitments... I think the Israelis ought to do the same."

Among the list of alleged violations of the Wye agreement cited by Israel is Mr

'Israel came to the summit with the intention of destroying it'

Arafat's repeated announcement that he intends to declare a Palestinian state next May when the Oslo five-year interim expires.

But the US national security adviser, Sandy Berger, said: "There is no obligation in the Wye agreement for Mr Arafat to renounce his hopes and aspirations."

Israeli newspapers were unanimous in concluding that Mr Netanyahu had misjudged the Clinton visit.

Nahum Barnea, writing in Yedioth Ahronoth, said Mr Clinton's speech in Gaza, when he equated the Palestinians' suffering, fears and aspirations with those of Israelis, "took their [Israel's] sense of the moral high ground away from them."

"It is one thing to give up territory so as not to rule a foreign people. It is quite another to present the struggle between the two peoples on the same plane of morality. Necessary perhaps, but not easy."

Republican sympathisers desert Clinton

Martin Kettle in Washington

LITTLE by little, the small pool of Republicans who may vote against the impeachment of President Clinton dwindled again yesterday, leaving the White House pinning its hopes on a handful of key moderates who have yet to declare their hand.

The most serious single blow yesterday was the volte-face of the New York congressman Jack Quinn, who despite previously declaring that he would vote against impeachment, said he was now in favour of removing Mr Clinton from office.

Mr Quinn's change of heart brings the number of Republicans publicly committed to voting against impeachment back to five; and one of these, Congressman Christopher Shays of Connecticut, has signalled that he too may be about to back-track.

Several other Republicans who have been sitting on the

Life imitates art as De Niro lobbies for president

EARLIER this year a character played by Robert De Niro (right) saved a fictional US president in the movie Wag the Dog by faking a war to divert attention from a handful of key moderates who have yet to declare their hand.

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Several other Republicans who have been sitting on the

of the past few days phoning Republican congressmen, trying to persuade them to vote against the impeachment of President Clinton.

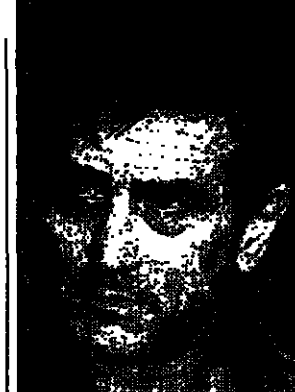
One of the congressmen was Jim Ramstad of Minnesota, whose office confirmed yesterday that the Hollywood giant had spoken for about 10 minutes to the politician.

"Evidently he had phoned the White House asking if there was anything he could do to help," Mr Ramstad's spokesman said.

"And he asked my boss to vote against impeachment. Another Republican to receive a call was Connie Morella of Maryland. She was not in when De Niro called, but her staff said they hoped to arrange an opportunity for the actor to put his case to her."

De Niro also reportedly asked a judiciary committee member, Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, whether there was any way that the actor could help to broker a compromise

censure deal.



Lincoln. Its main modern proponents are New York's governor, George Pataki, and the mayor of New York City, Rudolph Giuliani, both of whom have publicly opposed impeaching Mr Clinton.

Other notable Republicans in this tradition are the governors of Pennsylvania (Tom Ridge) and New Jersey (Christie Todd Whitman), as well as former Senator William Cohen of Maine, now Mr Clinton's defence secretary.

At least six of the White House's target moderates are from New York state, including Rick Lazio, Michael Forbes and Ben Gilman.

A handful of others are scattered around other north-eastern states, including Delaware, Connecticut and Pennsylvania. The rest of the undecideds are from all over the country.

Not all of them are solid liberals. Several are simply trying to calculate the political odds as they weigh up whether to run for Senate seats in 2000.

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No amount of pressure will force us to release terrorist murderers... no amount of pressure will force us to make withdrawals when the Palestinians don't carry out their part," he said.

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Under pressure from his far-right supporters, Mr Netanyahu can apparently survive only by abandoning the

'Tax forms' find revises history of writing

AP in Cairo

A GERMAN archaeologist said yesterday that he had found what could be the earliest known writings - records of linen and oil deliveries on clay tablets made about 5,300 years ago.

The discovery in Egypt upsets the belief widely held by historians that the first people to write were the Sumerians of the Mesopotamian civilization some time before 3000BC. The tablets (pictured) were carbon-dated to between 3300BC and 3200BC, said Günter Dreyer, head of the German Archaeological Institute. Most of them were found in the tomb of a king called Scorpion in Subah province, 300 miles south of Cairo.

The writings - in the form of line drawings of animals, plants and mountains - are



the first evidence that hieroglyphics developed gradually, Dr Dreyer said. Since 1985, Dr Dreyer and



his team have unearthed about 300 pieces of written material on clay tablets barely bigger than postage stamps.

Two-thirds of them have been deciphered as documentary records of linen and oil delivered to King Scorpion I.

They prove that society then was far more developed than previously thought, Dr Dreyer said.

Man's first writings were not a creative outpouring but the result of economics: when chiefs expanded their areas of control they needed to keep a record of taxes, paid in the form of commodities.

Although the Egyptian writings are made up of symbols, they can be called "true writing" because each symbol stands for a consonant and they form syllables.

Dr Dreyer said writing similar to the Egyptian tablets had been found in Mesopotamia but made no sense, indicating that it was transported from Egypt as art.

Writing may have been invented simultaneously in Egypt and Sumaria, but the Subah writing was far more developed.

Killer who stole baby from womb is jailed for life

Michael Ellison in New York

A WOMAN who became obsessed with having a baby after she had a hysterectomy was jailed for life yesterday for killing a pregnant 17-year-old and cutting the baby from the teenager's womb.

Prosecutors had sought the death penalty for Felicia Scott, aged 31, who is divorced with two children and wanted

another; but Judge Gay Lake followed the recommendation of a jury in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and spared her life. He described her crime as "heinous, atrocious, cruel and premeditated".

Scott was found guilty three months ago of shooting dead Caretha Curry, whom she befriended after hearing of the pregnancy and passing off the baby as her own. The child,

now aged two, survived and lives with her father. The two women went out for a pizza before Scott shot Curry, cut out the baby and stuffed the teenager's body in a plastic rubbish bag. She later dumped the body in a ravine.

Scott's boyfriend, Frederick Polon, was convicted of kidnapping Curry but cleared of murder and was given 20 years. Scott plans to appeal.



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Located in the museum, with spectacular views over the Thames, Blue Print Café features Jeremy Lee's excellent menu which makes the most of fresh ingredients and simple, but delicious, flavours. After lunch, make a visit to the Design Museum which is currently exhibiting a Guardian sponsored retrospective featuring The Work of Charles and Ray Eames, alongside the permanent collection of contemporary design.

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BLUE PRINT CAFE

Link to Nazis returns to haunt media giant

Ian Traynor in Bonn

BERTELSMANN, the global media company which is the world's biggest publisher of English-language books, is the latest German multinational trying to salvage its reputation after revelations that it published racist and fascist propaganda during the Third Reich.

Fearing the impact of the disclosures, particularly in the lucrative United States market, company executives authorised an independent panel of experts to examine the company's history and publish awarts-and-all account.

In March Bertelsmann bought the United States publisher Random House, based in New York, which was headed until recently by the former Sunday Times editor Harold Evans. Through Random House UK, the German company also owns such distinguished imprints as Chatto, Virago, Bodley Head, and Jonathan Cape.

After Time Warner and the Disney Group, Bertelsmann, based at Gütersloh in north Germany, is the world's biggest media and entertainment company.

It has long enjoyed the reputation of having been anti-Hitler during the second

world war, while other big names in German industry served the Nazis and profited. Bertelsmann was closed down.

But documents uncovered by an independent researcher, Hersch Fischer, based in Düsseldorf, show that the Nazis closed down the firm because it was illegally acquiring paper. They also show that Bertelsmann published several racist and anti-Semitic books which reflected Nazi ideology.

Revised plan for Berlin memorial

GERHARD Schröder's minister, Michael Neumann, said the revised plan was supported by Holocaust museums in Washington and Jerusalem.

He hoped parliament would vote on the competing designs by the middle of next year. — Reuters.

25.12.1998

Comment

Diary

Matthew Norman

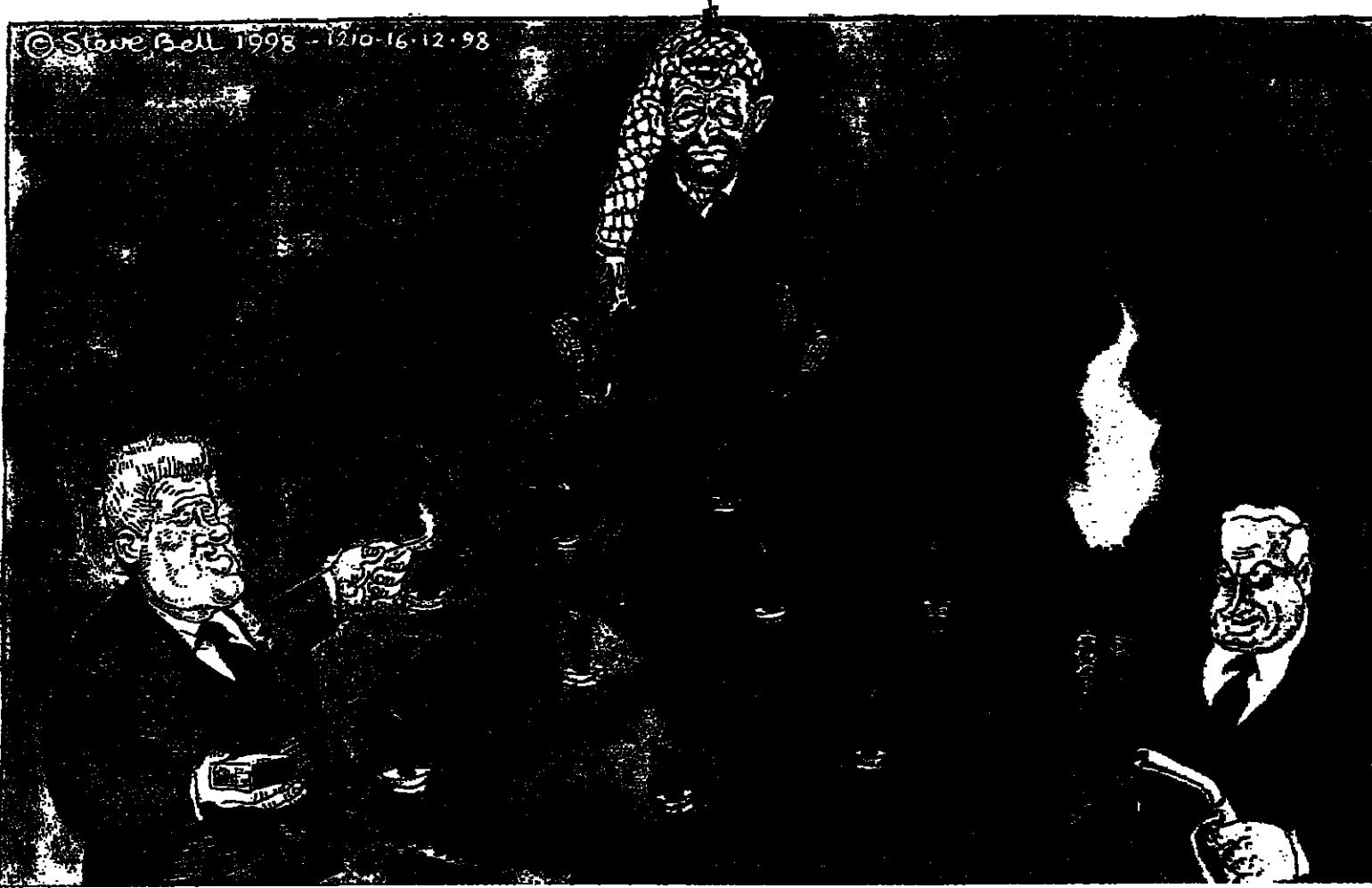
THOSE of us who invariably look to the *Daily Telegraph* as a shining beacon of mannerliness in a crude and bitter world will be distressed to learn of gross discourtesy from one of its senior journalists. Perhaps upset by his narrow failure to become leader of the Country-side Alliance, environment editor Charles Clover, a keen huntsman, became belligerent at the eco-hacks' Christmas bash last Thursday night. After a row about hunting with Prescott, he turned on the latter's special adviser Joan Hammill and described her, according to witnesses, as "dogshit". Charles, who may have had a few, tells us he is a fact: "Who the hell are you? You are treating us like dogshit". Min. Whitchever, a livid Prescott said he would never speak to him again, while Ms Hammill was very upset. The other eco-writers sent her consoling flowers the next day, but Charles remained stoically uncomfited until an hour after we called yesterday, when he rang back promising her a grovelling apology after all. Even so, Charles, a very poor show. You've let your paper down, you've let hunting down, but most of all you've let yourself down. Don't let it happen again.

OBSCURITY strikes, meanwhile, in another unlikely quarter. A game in the Southern Area Christian League has been abandoned, the Richmond and Twickenham Times relates, when the entire Richmond St Mary's side was shown the red card while playing Chessington Evangelical Church. "I admit I said 'Jesus Christ' and should have been sent off, and I'm not saying we were angels," says Marshall Baron, an altar server at Richmond Parish Church, "but there was swearing on both sides." Mr Baron adds that after complaining to the referee about the opposition's dangerous tackling, "a Chessington player asked one of my team what he knew about being a Christian. He told him: 'Sod off, I'm a Roman Catholic'."

ANYONE still looking for a romantic gift will be grateful for a late Christmas for Press Release of the Year: "Give a cataract gift voucher for Christmas," entices the document from Surgicare, purveyor of private day care operations. "With waiting lists for procedures such as cataracts, hernias and varicose veins still at a high, you can buy a voucher to give as a Christmas present." Quite enchanting.

I AM still contemplating a formal response to being louted in BNP house journal *State of the Nation* by Mandelson's boyfriend. In an anti-gay rant by former National Front leader John Tyndall, you will recall, the magazine printed the picture of us taken the night the Trade Secretary sat at a table with himself to dinner, with the caption, "Mandy and a close friend". There is nothing remotely embarrassing, of course, about being portrayed as his lover (far from it, I am extremely flattered), but the possibility that people might now explain the favourable treatment Mandy has always enjoyed here in terms of a private relationship is disturbing. It is this slur on my journalistic integrity that tempts me to issue a writ. Any libel award will be split equally between the Anti-Nazi League and the Commission for Racial Equality.

SPEAKING of Mandy, his latest appearance in the Commons to answer some questions contains remarkable news. Answering a query from Dennis Skinner, the winesome member for Hartlepool announced: "I have decided to include a Cranborne memorial zone, to commemorate a unique contribution to the future of Britain." This, it seems, will form one of the 14 zones referred to in another answer. If you wish to challenge the minister about this, or anything else, Mandy thoughtfully included his e-mail address in yet another reply: "do.mandelson@tdi.gov.uk". But please, no facious messages. And any replies must be treated in confidence (and on no account passed to columns such as this).



Slick Willie has slithered back into the Zippergate mire. Here's how

Jonathan Freedland



HOW on earth did this happen? Didn't the Americans kill this whole impeachment thing stone dead last month, when they gave Clinton a big thumbs-up in those mid-term elections?

Didn't we read all those articles saying the Pre's survival was in the bag, that it was now OK to forget all that arcane about two-thirds majorities, motions of censure and high crimes 'n' misdemeanours?

And yet, what's this? Tomorrow the House of Representatives will vote on four articles of impeachment. If the Republican majority holds, as the evidence last night suggested it will, then just one article will be enough to trigger a full-blown presidential trial in the Senate — the first for 130 years.

William Jefferson Clinton will be more disgraced even than Richard Nixon, who didn't wait for a House vote once the House Judiciary committee had condemned him. By now Nixon had gone.

By staying, Clinton has reserved his place in the history books. If Republicans stand firm, he'll write a whole new chapter. A Senate trial will be the blockbuster event of 1999, stretching from January to mid-summer, a media spectacle as massive as it will make the OJ Simpson story look like a warm-up act, according to one pundit.

Just think of the television pictures. The 100 besuited senators serving as jurors, a team of House Republicans as prosecutors, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as judge. Monica, Linda, Ken and the rest of the Zippergate cast called as witnesses,

grilled by the Chief Justice while the politicians remain silent (any questions will have to be passed to the judge as scribbled notes).

The defendant himself — the President of the United States — seated, perhaps, at the defence table, just like in the movies. The verdict, a moment of pure, 140-per-cent-proof drama. "Each senator, as his name is called, shall rise in his place and answer 'guilty' or 'not guilty,'" according to the senate rulebook. If 67 of them are for conviction, the President will be removed from office that instant and Al Gore sworn in.

This is no longer the fantasy politics of constitutional experts and America anoraks. It's what's at stake tomorrow. Again: how did it happen?

The blame lies with the two lead players — the Republicans and the President — and the very pitch they're playing on. For the system itself has become a factor in Washington. First, the impeachment process developed a momentum of its own: once hearings had started in the autumn, the mere fact of a mid-term election could not stop them. No matter that House Speaker Newt Gingrich had resigned for his part in creating this monster, the monster lived on. Undead, it lived again — as the zombie impeachment process.

Second, and more bizarrely, America's three-month transition of power means that many of tomorrow's Republican accusers have already been rejected by the voters, at last month's congressional elections. The House currently sitting is actually the outgoing one, set to be replaced by newly-elected

members in January. So a hardline Republican like Rick Warren of Washington gets to decide the President's fate tomorrow — even though his electors have already dumped him for an anti-impeachment Democrat. Blame the system.

Still, political machinery is always less important than the people operating it. The crucial switch these last weeks has been among House Republicans themselves. They made conciliatory noises in the days after their November 3 humbling, but that mellow mood has faded. At first, Newt Gingrich's mild-mannered successor said he wanted the whole sorry business wrapped up by Christmas. Now he says he'll vote for impeachment.

THE shift might well be due, ironically enough, to those mid-term elections. Now they're over, Republicans no longer fear the immediate wrath of the voters — who, polls show, remain solidly against impeachment and stubbornly loyal to the President. Instead, Republicans are gambling that Americans will have forgotten about the Zipper by the time they vote in 2000.

That logic has freed Republicans to address their base, the core supporters who have been demanding Clinton's blood from the very beginning. A vote for prosecution tomorrow is an easy way for Republicans to throw red meat to the party faithful. William Hague should watch this carefully, as an object lesson in what happens when politicians speak to their party rather than the country.

The effort has been helped by a smart Republican tactic. They have wooed waverers by playing down the significance of tomorrow's vote, recasting impeachment as little more than a referendum to the Senate. They have been incanting the old mantra that says the House accuses, the Senate convicts. Under this logic, an impeachment vote is little more than the censure Clinton has said he is ready to accept. Or, in the words of one Republican, "a major league spanking".

Still, Bill Clinton's foes cannot take all the blame. For the President has been the author of his own troubles. In place of his usual nimble political instincts, he has shown a tin ear — refusing to hear the advice that could save him. Republican moderates told him what they need to hear. "I lied under oath and I'm sorry," but Clinton has not been able to say it. Like the Fonz character who stuttered on the word s-s-sorry, the President cannot bring himself to utter the magic words.

Perhaps he gave in to the trademark cockiness he often reveals at moments of triumph. Perhaps the mid-term results made him believe he was indestructible. Or maybe he has simply written off the House and is ready to do battle in the Senate. Arithmetic says the Republicans can't get the 67 votes needed to remove Clinton from office, and the Comeback Kid will pull through. But a Senate trial in the TV age is uncharted territory. Who knows how the sight of a president in the dock would play? The Houdini of modern politics is in his tightest-ever jam. He needs to work some magic fast.

The Lord Chancellor can undoubtedly get his legal way, but if he wants real improvements he must rethink before railroading through the exclusive contracting reforms.

Lord Phillips of Sudbury, a solicitor and Liberal Democrat, is a member of the *Scott Trust* which owns the *Guardian*.

Society's least needy could be the big gainers from these plans

It's the new golden age

Polly Toynbee



FOR a government accused of doing everything by spin, they are sometimes surprisingly inept at it. Although they've been wary of setting up royal commissions, knowing that these cumbersome beasts often spin out of control and bite their progenitors, that's just what may happen when the Royal Commission on the Care of the Elderly and Disabled finally reports next month.

The Government may wonder how they came to put a theologian in charge, alongside doctors, nurses and social workers. Claire Rayner (head of the Patients' Association), a banker near retirement (which may soften bankers' attitudes towards spending on the old, with no hard-headed economist to keep them straight).

This involves very large sums of money — such large sums that the Commission has split and there will be a minority report opposing key proposals. The split is about means testing the better-off old. The majority want it partially abolished, the minority report wants no extra money for care to be wasted on the better off.

It's the continuing story of the split between those who want universalism for rich and poor in every aspect of the welfare state, and those who think any available funds should always be targeted on the neediest.

The Commission was part of Labour's pre-election wooing of Middle England. Better off old people needing care are means-tested and charged. Some people in residential care have to sell their homes to pay the costs, leaving little to pass down to their children. It was an issue that skewed the Tories: John Major had promised wealth cascading down the generations — but here was the state snatching it back from some families.

LOOKING at what it would cost, the Tories dared not promise to abolish means testing: were they to raise income tax to pay for it? Labour wanted to cash in on Tory discontent, without making expensive commitments of their own, so they promised a Royal Commission. Now this fat pigeon is about to flutter home to roost.

Sir Stewart Sutherland, Vice Chancellor of Edinburgh University and theologian, says he is going to produce a "new vision". He'll be the new Beveridge for the elderly.

If the Government wanted a cunning political fix, they went to the wrong man. He says he has been spalled at the country and inspecting old people's homes and services.

It's too little, it's too bad. It's haphazardly provided according to the whim of local authorities, often at war with local health services. Few would disagree with his harsh analysis: care of the old is often scandalous.

However, Sutherland doesn't just want to improve care, he wants to establish for the first time a clear set of rights. The founding principles of the NHS — free at all at the point of delivery — have, he says, been fatally eroded for the old. If they have cancer they get full NHS treatment, but if they get Alzheimer's the better off have to pay for their care. Unfair, he says. So his report will draw a new clear line — all health care will always be free. The better off will still have to pay any "hotel" charges, but never for care.

will become free. It will mean a major reduction in their bills, and a big extra bill for the state.

At present, any pensioner with capital of more than £16,000 has to spend the rest on their care, but the report will suggest a gentler taper so they can keep more of their money. All the old would be assessed equally for payments across the country and a National Care Council would establish benchmark national good care standards.

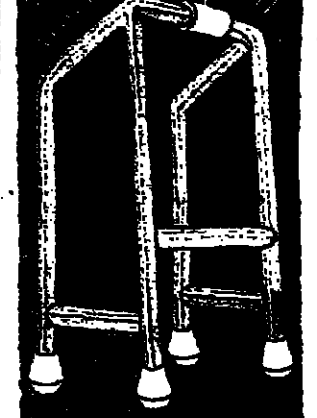
Local NHS and social services money will be pooled to be better spent, without dumping patients from one budget to another. The report will call for people to stay in their own homes longer, even if it costs more. Carers need more support to look after family members for longer.

All these are things that have been needed for a long time, but refused by governments keen to leave responsibility and blame conveniently with local authorities.

How is all this to be paid for? The Commission has rightly rejected any kind of compulsory life-long insurance scheme for care costs. Insurance is very expensive and not worth it for the majority, since only perhaps one in five people will ever need care in their old age. Instead the Commission will recommend the extra money should come from general taxation — the fairest way to pool risk.

But it's not hard to imagine the Chancellor's expression as this lands on his desk.

Ah, says Sir Stewart, ultimately this will be a matter not for government but for the will of the people. The whole point of easing means testing for better of pensioners is to create a universal



A clear line will be drawn: all health care for the elderly will always be free

system where everyone feels they have a stake when they pay more tax. Universal care must bind in the whole population, rich and poor alike, just as Beveridge envisioned. That's the idealist's vision — but times have changed beyond recognition in the last 50 years and National Insurance is on its last legs. People might agree to pay more tax for the old, but there's no evidence that willingness to pay is linked to distant and unreliable "universal" promises of what they may or may not get back in another 50 years.

Critics dispute the figures presented by the Commission, calling them wildly optimistic about costs. Sir Stewart is claiming all this can be phased in for £200 million, but others talk in many billions. Then there is the question of priorities. With so much need, where would you spend any extra money first? On providing more care now to improve the worst care? Or in relaxing means testing for the better off, so their middle-aged children can inherit lump sums?

Significantly in the Commission's public meetings most vocal anger came from middle-aged children fearing losing inheritances, less from those concerned with the plight of the old.

There is a danger that some of society's least needy people could be the big gainers from the Commission's proposals.

The new Access to Justice Bill is shutting the door on the people who most need Legal Aid

Legal raid

Andrew Phillips

THE so-called Access to Justice Bill, which had its first outing in the House of Lords this week, is the biggest upheaval in Legal Aid since the scheme was founded in 1948 as a landmark achievement of the Attlee Government.

The Attorney-General, Sir Hartley Shawcross, has called it "the Charter of the little man to the British Courts of Justice" to at last fulfil the Magna Carta claim that "to no one will we sell, deny, or delay right or justice".

The new Access to Justice Bill's central reform is a new, restricted delivery system for Legal Aid — there were 3.5 million cases last year — which will be confined to around 3,200 firms and up to 200 charity providers of legal services.

work. The claim made for this radical concentration of legal aid work is that there will be economies of scale, more specialism, with quality tightly controlled by Legal Services Commission (LSC). The fingerprints of the Treasury are everywhere.

Firms whose competitive tenders win the new "exclusive contracts" will usually be given what in many cases will amount to a monopoly of legal aid work in their areas. So much for client choice. These firms may enjoy their monopolies for up to three years before they risk losing the heart of their practices when the tendering process begins all over again.

In return, the "winners" will be locked into a fixed and increased number of cases at prices fixed at the outset — a hazardous prospect for solicitors.

LSC, reported to the Lord Chancellor in October that "while the proposals to concentrate the contracts on a smaller group of quality suppliers would reduce the number of individual access points, we do not believe that the proposals would lead to problems of

access per se". They claim that the gaps — which will be huge in rural areas — will be plugged by exclusively contracted Citizens Advice Bureaux and other charity suppliers of legal services, telephone advice and other unspecified "outreach services".

As Labour used to understand, the problem of legal

access is not just about cash and proximity, though for the poor, mothers with children and elderly and disabled there is real enough in an age of disappearing public transport. There is also a psychological deterrent for which telephones are no alternative.

The Government ignores another irreducible reality: that many of the best firms doing legal aid are already in two minds about continuing, because it is poorly paid, undervalued and increasingly bureaucratic.

Typically, private client work in the same firm pays at least 50 per cent more.

So if the Lord Chancellor plunges on with this perfectly formed, but perfectly misconceived, reform he may get a nasty shock. The solicitors he wants to keep in the circle of legal aid providers may throw in the towel.

Many who want to stay in — particularly the smaller firms — will be excluded either because of the man-

gerial demands of the latest contracting regime, or because of the planned cut-back of firms.

Ironically, the "quality of service" the White Paper harps on about may be undermined by the reforms, which inexorably lead towards a two-tier profession — perpetually under-remunerated legal aid firms and the rest — something the architects of legal aid wanted to prevent.

High street practitioners, grotesquely overshadowed by the earnings of their City brethren and outshone by barrister colleagues in media esteem, are fed up.

The Lord Chancellor can undoubtedly get his legal way, but if he wants real improvements he must rethink before railroading through the exclusive contracting reforms.

John G. L. S. D.

Pensions in a new century

The poor will still be with us

ALISTAIR DARLING, the Social Security Secretary, promised us action in the vital area of pensions after the interminable debate of the past few years, which cut short the blooming political careers of Harriet Harman and Frank Field. Pensions reform is a minefield in a quagmire. Everyone knows the problem — one in three people retiring in 50 years time will be poor enough to be dependent on means-tested support. Yet what can a Labour government, determined to win re-election by not upsetting the middle classes, do about it? The answer is to persuade millions of people, shaken by the recent pension mis-selling scandals, to take out private sector "stakeholder" pensions while providing a basic one for the poorest.

Pensions may look fairer after yesterday's proposals, but simple they are not. The existing basic "guaranteed" state pension will continue backed up by income support (a total of £75 a week from April). For those earning between £9,000 and £18,000 a year there will be an additional pay-as-you-go Second State Pension incentivised by higher national insurance rebates (which taper off income rises). They will replace the existing Serps scheme which will be frozen. Parallel to the second pension will be the flagship of the new system stakeholder pensions aimed particularly at incomes of £9,000 to £18,000 a year — which will be backed by £500 million a year of public money to make them attractive.

Once these have been established, in about five years, the second state pension will pay out only at a flat rate which although double the comparable Serps rate for low earners, will give everyone an incentive to take out a stakeholder alternative. They will be offered by mutual organisations and others under strict government regulation. Occupational pensions will continue as will personal pensions (if anyone wants to buy them). Any questions?

There's the rub. For all the good intentions, taking out a pension will still be a formidably complicated problem especially for young people who will have to wait 40 years or more for a return. The idea of an annual statement with stakeholding pensions — so you can see what you will get on retirement and what would happen if you saved more, is a good one. But it won't make them the next rock'n'roll. Young people may be better off in a tax-free savings scheme like Pepp or Tessa. The Government has ruled out compulsory contributions. This is partly for practicality — you can't force very poor people to save what they haven't got. But partly also out of fear that the opposition would accuse them of raising taxes — though, curiously, the Tory spokesman Iain Duncan Smith said yesterday there was an argument to make people pay more. We shall see. If stakeholding pensions don't prove popular among the poor the Government will have to think again about compulsion to achieve its ultimate aim of providing half-decent pensions for all.

But what is half decent? A minimum of 20 per cent of average earnings may seem alright compared with what an extrapolation of Conservative policy would have produced, but it's barely what was on offer in 1948 and hardly something a civilised society would want to boast about. Pensions on the continent of Europe are more attractive.

If millions opt for stakeholding, while other Labour policies get people back into better paid jobs, all will be well. But what if they don't? Yesterday's proposals are a deft answer to the question — what pensions policy is consistent with declining public funding and won't involve electorally unpopular taxes on the middle classes. But it won't necessarily provide pensions for the poorest that an advanced industrialised country can feel proud of.

Clinton in Gaza

It's been a worthy pilgrimage

THE United States this week recognised the independent state of Palestine. That is the historic significance of President Clinton's visit to Gaza. In his speeches Clinton stressed self-determination and liberty, in a context which left no doubt that he was speaking of the right of Palestinians to have a state of their own. But it was by his presence above all that he confirmed the Palestinians' recognition that there has been a long time coming. Fifty years coming, in fact. Half a century ago American statesmen and diplomats were making the decisions which tied the United States so closely to Israel that the claims of the people of the Middle East had displaced and defeated were then on to take second place, when they were not forgotten entirely, in the American understanding of the Middle East and its problems. America's movement toward a more balanced policy, not slighting Israel's security but dealing fairly with Arab and Palestinian concerns, has been slow and hesitant. A true balance has hardly yet been achieved, but Clinton's trip is still an important marker. It tells Israelis that there is no way to get off the road

which leads to statehood for Palestinians unless Israel is willing to seriously alienate and anger the United States. Whether America in the future might also favour policies which would give a Palestinian state contiguous territory, control of its own resources, and a measure of real power is another issue. That would involve an American determination to oppose Israeli efforts to ensure that, if the Palestinians must have a state, it will be a weak one. It would also involve an effort to persuade Israelis that a reasonably strong Palestinian state is in Israel's interests because it would be a reliable neighbour. The Clinton visit may permit a certain lessening of the pessimism which has so often seemed justified on these matters. The Palestinian National Council's vote ceremonially discarding clauses in the Palestinian charter which deny Israel's right to exist was the theatrical climax of Clinton's time on Palestinian soil. Yitzhak Rabin's death has predictably reacted by saying this is not enough for him to hand over further territory or order additional releases of Palestinian prisoners. He also demands that Arafat stop talking of a declaration of statehood next May. Arafat may do so, in order to secure the next Israeli withdrawal. But the question now, as the Clinton trip has underlined, is not whether there will be a state, but what kind of state it will be.

Hopes in Ashes

But keep the post-mortem short

WHEN England lost to Australia at The Oval in 1982, the Sporting Times printed an obituary informing a grieving public that the body of English cricket would be cremated and the ashes taken to Australia. It was a brief, witty

response to Australia's first Test win in England and gave a name to a nascent sporting rivalry. England lost that match by just seven runs, the "Demon" Spofforth taking 14 wickets for Australia. England, beset now by rather more demons, lost in Adelaide by 205, and while the death notices will again be written, expect neither brevity nor wit. Bluster is the order of the day: English cricket is useless, it wasn't like this in my day, heads must roll!

England, it is true, have — in the argot of the team's robotic management — underperformed. It is a workaday side — Zimbabwe with bigger sponsored cars. It has come up against a well-marshalled Australian team with one world-class bowler, McGrath, and a golden crop of batsmen. There are structural and psychological reasons for Australia's ascendancy: they play less cricket but more intensely; their game is based on six tough state sides, not 18 fair-to-middling counties; they exude self-belief (step forward Steve Waugh); they have a fine cricket academy. There is much for England to learn.

But build an academy, make domestic cricket more competitive, look on to sports psychology courses, and we may still not beat Australia in England in 2001. The balance of power has swung every 15 years or so through the century: it will do so again, but not just because Lord MacLaurin wills it. This decade has been dismal, but so were the thirties — Australia held the Ashes from 1934 to 1935. Until the pendulum swings back, suffer the disappointment, don't talk to Indian bookmakers, and take solace from the fact that in 1920 England sent a team to Australia that were whitewashed 5-0. Shock, horror, ignominy, what a shower! Indeed. That shower included Jack Hobbs, Frank Woolley and Wilfred Rhodes, three of cricket's immortals. Stewie, Athers and Ramps are in good company.

Letters to the Editor

Taking on cops, noise and cars

ROGER Williams (Letters, December 14) advocates a zero increase in vehicle registrations per annum. Perhaps we should go further and make the cost of congestion by putting a limit on the number of driving licenses. If these were allocated by way of a much tougher driving exam, our roads would be safer as well as less congested; and, reducing car use by driving skills and behavioural characteristics rather than by road pricing would halt the trend towards a polarised society of affluent car drivers and poor public transport passengers. Michael Clarke, London.

AT THE open meeting you refer to at Church House, Westminster, (Dark side of the Force, 22 December 14) I made it clear "that there must be no hiding place for corrupt officers" and that "any officer who has the slightest suspicion that officers are corrupt should bring that suspicion to the appropriate authority".

We as a Federation support the Commissioner in his duty to root out those who have betrayed their oath of office. Glen Smyth, Metropolitan Police Federation.

EWAN McLeish, (Letters, December 15), greatly understates his point about the decibel scale. It is logarithmic as he says, but based on ten, not two. Therefore, Armageddon at 110 is 10 times louder than a personal stereo at 100, which in turn is 100 times louder than a vacuum cleaner at 80. It is worth noting that good earplugs reduce the sound level by around 25 decibels. William Allen, Surrey.

We may edit letters: shorter ones are more likely to appear.

Let's vet the boss, too

JACK Straw's proposal for a new Criminal Records Bureau (10 million face criminal grilling, December 15) opens up some interesting possibilities. For one, would we want disclosure of any criminal record, acquittal or "police intelligence" regarding prospective employers — I would not wish to work for someone who is a known or suspected criminal. Neither would I wish to hire a solicitor or other professional who cannot show that they are "clean".

But the real test of Mr Straw's democratic credentials will come at election time, when all who stand for Parliament or local government will presumably be required to pay the £10 fee and include a certificate detailing any convictions in the material they circulate to voters. We do, after all, employ these people in positions of trust.

Richard Gregory, London.

THE Criminal Records Bureau on its own necessary though it is, will do nothing to prevent the vast majority of cases of abuse of children. Most abuse takes place in the family and recent Home Office research indicates that up to 15 times as much goes unreported as will appear on even the highest category of certificate from the CRB. So these 10 million police checks a year will over-

whelmingly miss their target. Worse than that, by making volunteers pay to have their records checked, organisations that use volunteers to work with young people will be deterred from doing so. Hundreds of thousands of such volunteers are not in the paid workforce; a £10 fee will deter many from giving their time unless cash-strapped charitable organisations refund them.

What is needed is an equally determined effort, supported by government money, to ensure that the thousands of small informal volunteer-based child-care and youth organisations all adopt the best practices that we know can effectively deter all but the most determined abusers. We fool ourselves — and let down children, young people and their families — if we think that a CRB is more than just a minor part of the solution.

Christopher Spence, National Centre for Volunteering, Susanne Rappach, National Council for Voluntary Youth Services.

OVER the last few years the Probation Service, with the Employment Service and training and enterprise councils, has worked hard to help offenders find work or training. This is because getting a job is the single most effective way of reducing the risk of re-



How Leni put Adolf in the picture

YOUR report (She was the genius who glorified Hitler, December 15) regurgitates much of the disinformation that Leni Riefenstahl has spread about herself. You do not mention her propaganda film — Day of Freedom: Our Army — a charming drivel over the beauty of the soldiers serving the Führer. This is perhaps not surprising since Riefenstahl has always omitted it from her credits.

At one stroke the Home Secretary, who is responsible for fighting crime, has increased the risk of it happening. Mike Gidley, Cumbria Probation Service.

WELCOME to the brave new world of the next millennium. Would it not be more efficient for the "crimes" to be tattooed or branded on their foreheads? It doesn't even Thatcher would have dared. A. de Wolf, Lancaster.

fully solved the Glasgow problem for us. As a member of the Glasgow Police, I am delighted to hear that the police have been able to determine north of Watford, should I continue simply to pronounce the word "Glasgow", or should I adopt a full-on Billy Connolly impression? David Davies, Salford.

A final word on who really wrote Auld Lang Syne

NO claim has ever been registered that Robert Burns wrote the air (Tussie over who wrote Auld Lang Syne, December 15) of this world renowned anthem.

He did not write the music for any of the famous songs associated with his name. He was a lyric poet who relied upon traditional tunes to which he supplied, or reworked, the words.

There has been considerable debate through the years as to what extent the words of Auld Lang Syne are his own composition.

On the authority of James Johnson (c.1750-1811), the editor of the Scots Musical Museum, Burns claimed that he had written the third and fourth stanzas. But the song as we know it, has all the stamp of a genuine Burns work.

Burns fitted the verses to the traditional tune, Auld Lang Syne, first published in Henry Playford's Collection of Original Scotch Tunes (1700), repeated in William Thom-

son's Orpheus Caledonius (London, 1725), and also in Alan Ramsay's Collection of Scotch Songs (Edinburgh, 1726).

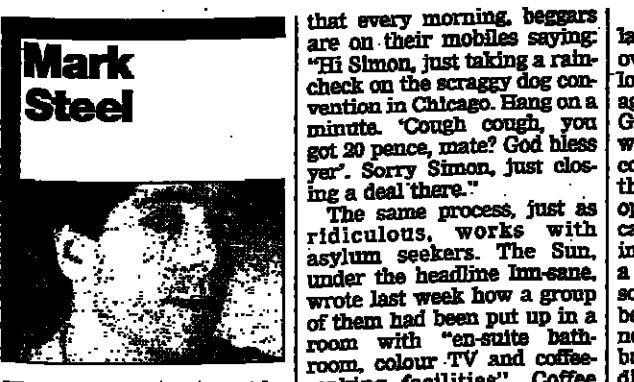
Norman R Paton, Stubbington, Fareham.

It seems very odd that you accept at face value the "new" research about the music for Auld Lang Syne.

The William Shield connection is well known; my Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music (second edition published in 1964) contains an entry for Auld Lang Syne including the following: "The tune now current is sometimes stated to be by Shield; something like it appeared in his opera Rosina, as a part of the overture (Covent Garden 1783) where it is treated to imitate Scottish bagpipe music."

I cannot see that our friends in Gateshead have discovered anything new at all! Patrick Davies, Winchester.

Sex for spuds



THE public must not be fooled, said a policeman last week on a regional news programme, into thinking that beggars are poor. They were, he added, making £80 a day on mobile phones. I wonder what he says about the ones with no legs. "We warn the public not to be fooled, as they do in fact have four or five legs each."

Maybe he really believes

The Daily Mail was in similar form. They complained, over two pages, that while local residents have waited ages for treatment at Joyce Green Hospital in Kent, two wards were re-opened to accommodate the refugees. But the wards were only re-opened as, shelter, so this can't have affected the waiting lists. For the Mail to have a point, the policy of Kent social services would have to be that asylum seekers were not only put up in a hospital, but had to have their appendix out while they were there.

But, unusually, the Mail has been outdone. The Folkestone Herald ran a front page story about a local prostitute who complained she was being driven out of business by asylum seeking women who "will have sex for a potato". There must be people who read this and thought "Well it's worth splashing out and seeing what you can get for a whole cabbage".

Does she have a pimp, who

at the end of the night gives her three chips, and says: "Hey come on baby, I got expenses." Maybe a minister will resign following an unexplained incident at the harbour, in which he reports to police that he's had his turnips stolen. Perhaps this is the real reason for the Sun's anger. They're worried that the Slovakian prostitute is the most dangerous woman in Europe, dedicated to undermining the pound, and replacing it with the Single European Vegetable.

big boy, I'm yours for a spud." The Folkestone Herald, like the Sun and the Mail, ought to have a good idea about how people behave when they live off massive handouts. The chairman of AdSense, which publishes 44 papers of which the Herald is one, is Harry Lambert, who gets £150,000 for being on the board, and his wife and brother are also directors. Isn't that typical? They take all they can from our boards, then bring the rest of their family over and we have to cough up for them.

The papers that publish this vitriol against refugees know that, while the sums they claim are being wasted sound like large amounts to most of their readers, they're a small fraction of public spending, and sometimes less than their proprietors would spend on a business lunch.

They also know that the number of successful asylum applicants is fewer than the number of Americans and Western Europeans who live

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AS PERSONAL interpreter for Josef Stalin, Valentin Berezhkov, who has died aged 82, was the conduit through which some of the most important discussions between the allied leaders and the second world war took place.

He was at Tehran in 1943 when Stalin, Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt met to discuss the future of Europe after the defeat of Nazi Germany. He translated the talks between Stalin and Churchill in 1942 when the British prime minister refused to open a second front in Europe, and he was on duty at the Soviet embassy in Berlin on the day when the German foreign minister, von Ribbentrop, told the ambassador that German troops had invaded the Soviet Union.

There was little of Berezhkov's background to suggest that he might become privy to the innermost secrets of the Kremlin and much to suggest that he was lucky to have survived the terror of the 1930s.

Born in Petrograd during the first world war, his father worked at the city's engineering works and his mother was from aristocratic Petersburgers' family. As Berezhkov wrote in his autobiography, *At Stalin's Side* (1994), he might have become Roosevelt's interpreter because just before his birth his parents considered emigrating to the United States.

In the event, they remained in Petrograd through the 1917 February Revolution and the bloodbath that in 1920, allowed only the most meagre of rations because they were classed as "bourgeois" and reduced to burning furniture and selling possessions to survive. Berezhkov's family decided to move to Ukraine where he had a sister and where it was assumed conditions were better.

Young Valentin attended the factory school in Kiev and was known as a troublemaker, where he was taught German and English. In 1928 his father was arrested in the first wave of Stalin's purges and spent several months in prison, despite torture and beatings, he refused to confess to any crimes and was released.

At the age of 14, Berezhkov began work as an electrician. He attended evening classes in German and English before going on to Kiev's technical institute to study engineering, and it was whilst studying that he met and married his one-part-time, based for foreign tourists. This was at

the height of Stalin's forced collectivisation and there was famine in Ukraine. Berezkhov chose to work as an interpreter because he got free food and better pay.

The family's experience, and what he saw in Ukraine, made him believe that there were no alternatives to the Soviet Union under Stalin was not the workers' paradise the Bolsheviks had promised. He recalls in his autobiography taking American tourists around a model collective farm and to show that outside Kiev there was starvation. At the time, though, he believed — like millions of other Soviet citizens — that a better future was being built and that he would hold Stalin responsible for the repression and starvation.

In 1938, having graduated, he was sent to Vladivostok for military service in the navy. While serving there he was summoned to Moscow to work as a naval interpreter. The signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939, joint German-Soviet military exercises, and the invasion of Poland by Germany was great news for German-speakers. Berezkhov interpreted when the Nazi and Soviet armies met at the newly-agreed Polish border, and in 1941 he was sent to the Krupp factory in Essen as part of a trade delegation to

Berezhkov found the Fuhrer's handshake 'cold and damp . . . it produced an unpleasant sensation like the touch of a reptile.' Stalin was smaller, greyer and less impressive than he had imagined



asking him to identify the quotation, and after Berzhkovsk answered correctly he accompanied Molotov to Berlin to interpret at a meeting with Hitler. He described the Führer's handshake as "cold and damp . . . [it] produced an unpleasant sensation like the touch of a dead hand."

Hitler initially could not believe that Berzhkovsk was not a native German. Berzhkovsk returned to Moscow to receive his diplomatic passport and was sent back to Berlin to interpret at the Soviet Embassy, taking with him his first wife Galina, who he had married that year. For a few months relations between the Germans and Soviet remained friendly, but in the early spring embassy officials knew that the Germans were preparing to invade the Soviet Union; they even knew the planned date of the attack. Official cables went unheeded and Stalin refused to put the country on war alert.

Early on June 22, 1941 Berlin and the ambassadors of the United States and Great Britain visited the Germanized Ribbentrop who read out the declaration of war. They turned and left, but Ribbentrop ran after them and whispered: "Tell Moscow that I was not a Jew."

Berzhkovsk continued to work for Molotov, interpret-

ing at meetings with American officials until, in the winter of 1941, he was summoned into Stalin's presence to interpret for Churchill's and Roosevelt's representatives. Lord Beaverbrook and Averell Harriman, Berzhkovskiy found Stalin to be smaller, greayer and more nervous than he had imagined and often nervous before such visits; but he was also a fine actor and could charm his guests. From then until early 1945 Berzhkovskiy was one of Stalin's two official interpreters.

Undoubtedly the most celebrated event he witnessed was the meeting between Stalin and Roosevelt in Tehran. He recalled that Stalin was very nervous, and that the Russians over seating arrangements and adjusting the light and the heat. His smallpox scars would be less noticeable. The meeting, he said, was a success. Berzhkovskiy was then left with the leaders discussing the ill-effects of smoking.

Just over a year after the Tehran conference Berzhkovskiy was again summoned to Moscow and told that Lavrentiy Beria, head of the KGB, had information that his parents had fled abroad after the Red Army had re-captured the Ukraine. Stalin ordered an abortion; but Berzhkovskiy was a security risk and Molo-

toy snatched him from the ministry of foreign affairs, and warned him never to speak about the events he had witnessed or who he had worked for. Berезhkov understood that Molotov was trying to save him from Beria's wrath. But the threat of Soviet former interpreters had been shot; the fourth had died under interrogation.

Subsequently, with the approval of both Molotov and Stalin, Berезhkov became deputy chief of the journal, *New Times*. He returned to the diplomatic service under Leonid Brezhnev, and during the 1960s was first secretary at the Soviet embassy in Washington. In 1963 his youngest son, Alexei, caused a diplomatic incident when he refused, temporarily, to leave the United States. In 1981 Berезhkov himself moved to America, where he became a lecturer at Occidental College in Los Angeles.

He is survived by Valeria, his second wife, whom he married in 1966, and two sons, Alexander and Yevgeny. Interprets for Boris Yeltsin and Yevgeny Primakov.

Isabel Montgomery

Valentin Mikhailovich Berезhkov, interpreter, born July 2, 1916; died November 20, 1998

Melodies on the move

THE composer and pianist Ciro Richardson, who has died aged 89, wrote most of the music for Will Hay's Gainsborough pictures, including *Oh, Mr Porter*, scored arrangements for Tommy Handley's wartime radio comedy series, and wrote the highly successful *London Comedy*, first published in 1944. Many of his light music works are still familiar by their melodies, if not by their names.

Richardson was born in Paris. His father came from a family of Scottish sugar traders, and his mother was a wealthy admirer's daughter. He was educated at Harrow, and trained as a doctor before switching to the Royal Academy of Music, where he studied several instruments as well as orchestration and conducting. While still a student he was a pianist in the pianist in Bach's *St Brandenburg Concerto* at the Queen's Hall, London, with Sir Henry Wood conducting.

In his early professional career Anderson arranged popular tunes for Walford Davis's *Columbia* records. He toured in Harold Ramsay's Rhythm Symphony Orchestra and was a musical director in London's West End for seven years. Among his reviews, including Vivian Ellis's *Pleasure* (1933) and Robert Rees's *Music* (1934), he was also a composer and musical director with the international singer Hildegarde; their tours of Britain and Europe culminated in a performance at the Royal Albert Hall in New York's Rainbow Room.

From 1938 to 1939 he was arranger and assistant musical director for Gaumont British Films.

During the second world war he was in the Royal Artillery but continued to be involved with music; his BBC work at this time included scores of *Sing A Song Of Sixpence*, and *Girls Beware*, and the *War of the Wonders*.

Then, following Richard Adeney's hugely successful *Warsaw Concerto*, the publishers Lawrence Wright asked Richardson for a similar composition. The result was the *Coverity Concerto*, a tribute to the Midlands city where Richardson had served with an anti-air-

ate success, with two commercial recordings — by Charles Williams on Columbia and Sidney Torch for Parlophone — both featuring the composer playing the piano solo. On Decca Mantovani recorded a slightly longer version, with pianist Mona Lister. The composition brought a new audience through a 1952 Sidney Torch CD. Other major works during this period included *Salute To Industry* (1945), a choral work with lyrics by A P Herbert, and *White Cliffs* (1946), a nautical overture.

By 1947, very busy as a composer and arranger, Richardson embarked on a performing career with his close friend and fellow pianist, Tony Lowry, as the enormously popular duo, Four Hands in Harmony. They topped variety bills and made many radio broadcasts. Titles such as *Running Off The Rails*, *Benchmark*, *Shadow Waltz*, *The Girl On The Calendar*, *Chiming Strings*, *Saga Of The Seven Seas*, *Jamboree*, *Tom Marches On* (the *Itma* March) and *Continental Polka* were much more familiar to radio audiences.

BC Television's *Children's Newswear* used his exhilarating *Hottelero's Hip* as a theme. In the 1950s radio Luxembourg's *Dan Dare* serial played Richardson's *Radio Location* in almost every episode. His most catchy piece, *Melody On The March*, was played no more than one radio series in later years he confessed that the inspiration for it had been the Dorabella movement from Elgar's *Enigma Variations*.

Richardson never stopped composing. His style gained new admirers through the 1990s CD renaissance of light music. In 1988 he received the Gold Award from the British Academy of Songwriters, Composers and Musicians. He is survived by his second wife, Unity, his daughter and three grandchildren.



Four-hand drive . . . Clive Richardson (foreground) with Tony Lowry broadcasting to British forces overseas in 1943

The analytic grandmother

DR. ILSIE Hellman Noach, the distinguished psychoanalyst and expert on child development, has died, aged 90. Her early fascination with children in her home city of Vienna led to a post-war course in the treatment of juvenile delinquency, evening classes in psychology at the Sorbonne and the offer of work in a home near Paris for offenders too young to go to prison. The home, unique in Europe, was run on family lines, with the staff members living after each small group of children.

On returning to Vienna, Hellman studied under Professor Charlotte Bühler, head of the university's department of child development, who was giving her detailed studies of children from birth onwards. In 1937 Bühler invited Hellman to join her in London to study retarded children and sufferers from Down's syndrome.

At the outbreak of the second world war the Home Office ordered her to return to work with child evacuees from London. Taken from their mothers to remote areas, many children suffered disturbed sleep, eating disorders and bed-wetting, and she soon became involved in work with problems that foster-parents were unable to deal with.

psy clinic in Hampstead, north London, which originated major studies on all aspects of child development, normative and pathological.

For some years Hellman was in charge of the department for adolescents, publishing important papers on their psycho-sexual development, and on their suitability for, and difficulties in, psychoanalytic treatment. She wrote or many other subjects and was a fine teacher, both at the clinic and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, and her deeply empathic understanding of the problems encountered by students in their clinical work meant that she was much sought after by trainees in both child and adult treatment. Her clinical work, and understanding of children of all ages, secured her international reputation.

It was not until after the war that Hellman learned that her mother and brother, Bernhard, had died in Nazi

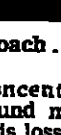


Noach . . . pioneering work

At the end of 1941, Freud's daughter, Anna, invited Hellman to join her war nurses' unit, which had been set up to provide for children whose parents were in the war. The unit was active during the war-time bombing, and she remained there until the nurses closed at the end of the war. The staff were residential and, to facilitate attachment to a substitute parent, each member cared for the same small group of children — just as they had done in Freud's home.

The three houses together cared for 150 children, and the staff slept wherever they could. The children's development was observed and meticulously recorded, and Hellman continued to meet and evaluate the known war babies' for the next two years.

During her time at the nurses, Hellman trained in psychoanalysis, and rose rapidly to prominence in the British Psycho-Analytical Society, where her attractive and friendly personality put her on the best of terms with Melanie Klein, Donald Winnicott, and other well-known analysts. She joined the staff at Anna Freud's Durrell Burdett Child Study



Noach... pioneering work

concentration camps. She found much consolation for this loss in the art historian, Arnold Noach, a survivor of the occupation of Holland, whom she met and married when he came to London.

After his death in 1976, Helman Noach continued her work, though much less intensively. Impressed by the fact that young people showed a readiness to confide in her, she amusingly called herself an "analytic grandmother".

Only at the age of 81 did she abandon her practice. Even then, despite a cruelly incapacitating illness, she always found a warm and welcoming word for visitors. She is survived by one daughter.

Clifford Yorke

Iso Helman Noach, psychoanalyst, born September 28, 1908; died December 3, 1998

TAMAR VALLEY: Since 3am low rain-cloud has glowed yellow, reflecting light from nearby glasshouses, full of alstroemeria. Dutch growers have bred dozens of colours from the original Peruvian lilies and, for 26 years, Joyce and Alan have grown these flowers under licence, becoming totally specialised. Today they grow three and a half acres under glass, employing 14 people.

of flowers are carried shoulder-high to the bunch-line for sorting, tying, trimming and wrapping in transparent sleeves. Twice weekly, refrigerated lorries collect loads for London and distribution throughout the UK. A computer regulates light, heat, water and humidity so that shutters, lights, vents, pipes and fans simulate the equivalent of 13 hours of daylight and a temperature 12C. Every two to three years, cacti are hoisted by crane, dug up, sterilised and replanted with another batch from potted plants, sent from Aalsmeer in Holland, Irena, Illinois, Victoria, Kandra, Rebecca and Belinda are some of the 23 varieties in

shades of red, pink, purple, orange, yellow and cream, all with delicate speckling on the inner petals.

Outside the steamed-up glass and lush interior, misty cloud disperses, steaming out of bare trees in Radland valley, clearing Cotehele's tower field, eastwards towards Morwellham rocks. Under blue sky, lights switch off and low sun sparkles on silvery leaves of pittosporum, remnants of the former diverse market-garden regime. An earlier generation of pines, anacardas and strawberries fertilize, with pig and poultry manure, alongside two modest green-houses of tomatoes, lettuces and chrysanthemums.

VIRGINIA SPIERS

IN AN article about Southampton Institute, page 15, December 11, we did not make it clear that the events to which a report by the National Audit Office referred occurred between 1994 and 1997. In the report, it was stated that the report contained management procedures that left too much power in the hands of the chairman of the governors, the late Michael Andrews. Mr Andrews became chairman only in October 1997 at the very end of the period involved. He died in July 1998 after a long illness. The report was referring to his predecessor. Apologies for any distress caused to the family of Mr Andrews.

IN THE Dream Kitchen feature on our Food & Drink pages, Guardian Weekend, December 22, we gave a wrong description of the articles to which Essential Gadgetry 3 referred. We should have given details of the 15in roasting pan and the flat roasting rack shown in the illustration. Roasting pan (catalogue, £27.50; Ches by Nesbitt, 01454 855665).

AT THE end of a report headed, Return rise adds to

big increase in homeless, page 13.
December 11, we said, "Over one billion council homes have been sold in England since 1980..." We should have said million, not billion.

It is the policy of the Guardian to correct errors as soon as possible. Please quote date and page number. Readers may contact the office of the Readers' Editor by telephoning 0171 239 9539 between 11am and 5pm, Monday to Friday. Surveys mail to Readers' Editor, The Guardian, 119, Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER. Fax: 0171 239 9897. E-mail: readers@guardian.co.uk

Anne Begg, Labour MP, 45; Michael Blackburn, chief executive, Halifax Building Society, 57; Quentin Blake, artist, illustrator, 66; Arthur C Clarke, science fiction writer, 66; Myrella Cohen, QC, circuit judge, 71; Peter Cole, professor of journalism, 55; Prof Bernard Crick, political writer, 69; Jacqueline Duncan, principal, Inchbold School of Design, 67; Esther Hallett, QC, chairman, Bar Council, 86; Jaquiel Laro, Conservative MP, 51; Trevor Pincock, parapsychic and conductor, 52; Liv Ullmann, actress, 69; Leighton Siro Grogan, Wheeler, chief of the Grogan, 59, 67.

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Wednesday December 16 1998

Sears stalker flushed out, page 12

Taxpayer loses out on Railtrack, page 12

11

Financial Editor: Alex Brummer
Telephone: 0171-239 9610
Fax: 0171-833 4456

FinanceGuardian

Watchdog orders cut in charges – saving customers £1bn over three years



Call me on my mobile... at least it will soon be cheaper, unless the phone companies thwart OfTel's plans

PHOTOGRAPH: GARRY WEAVER

Phone firms to fight OfTel

Chris Barrie, Media Business Correspondent

ACOURTROOM battle between mobile phone companies and the telecoms regulator OfTel loomed yesterday when it emerged that the watchdog might be challenged in court over its right to order the industry to cut prices.

The confrontation came as a nine-month inquiry by the Monopolies and Mergers Commission ordered Vodafone, Cellnet and British Telecom to cut the cost of calls from BT phones to mobiles.

The MMC report, to be published in full in January, concludes that the firms charge excessively. It orders them to cut the charge for calling a mobile from 30p a peak-time minute to 22p next year.

Further cuts in the following two years will see prices fall further to about 19.5p, depending on a price capping

formula linked to inflation. The phone companies are to be banned from charging for calls diverted to recorded announcements.

Phone users will save £1 billion over the period. BT stands to lose £100 million in profits, partly as it cuts its own charges and partly as revenue from Cellnet, in which it holds a 50 per cent stake, falls. Some 70 per cent of calls to mobiles are made from BT phones.

The MMC inquiry was initiated after a long battle by the OfTel director general, Don Cruickshank, who accused the industry of ripping off the consumer.

Today's director general, David Edmonds, said the MMC conclusions had vindicated OfTel's decision to push for lower prices. He said OfTel's strategy had been logical, rational and based on hard analysis.

Most of the industry was set on confrontation with the reg-

ulator last night as it emerged that Cellnet could mount a legal challenge to OfTel's right to amend its licences to enforce the price cuts.

Cellnet said its stance would depend on the detailed proposals yet to come from OfTel, but the company has taken legal advice that suggests OfTel cannot impose price controls on the company because of a European directive.

One executive indicated recently that at least one company, thought to be Cellnet, had been considering seeking judicial review of OfTel's actions before the watchdog referred their charges to the MMC last March.

Ian Morfett, managing director of products and solutions for BT, added to the expectation of a legal challenge by acknowledging yesterday that the regulator's powers might be tested in court.

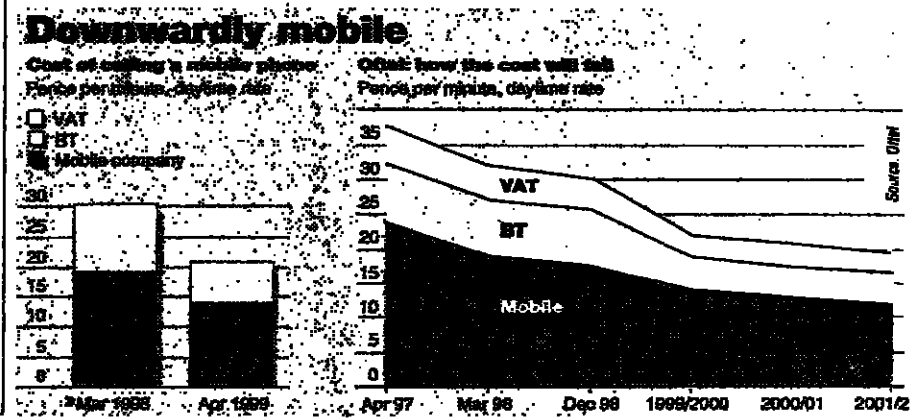
Another battle was looming with Orange and One 2 One. Although these newer opera-

tors are not covered by the MMC report, Mr Edmonds indicated that he would scrutinise their actions and expected them to cut prices in line with Vodafone and Cellnet.

But One 2 One and Orange said they had no intention of cutting their charges, al-

though they would pass on to the consumer savings from BT's action on prices. The only conciliatory note was struck by Vodafone, which said it was minded to accept the MMC's conclusions.

The cost of calling a mobile is made up of a charge levied by the operator – Vodafone or Cellnet – and another by BT. Mr Morfett said BT intended to accept its proportion of the price cuts. BT will lose £20 million due to the need to put its own prices. Lower profits at Cellnet will cost another £20 million.



Shares in EMAP hit by US deal

Chris Barrie

SHARES IN EMAP, the magazine and radio company, plunged yesterday as it unveiled a £1.5 billion acquisition of the US publisher Petersen and a £369 million rights issue.

The deal gives EMAP a significant presence in the American market for the first time, but investors were concerned about the high price offered for the Los Angeles and New York company.

EMAP shares closed 80p down at 970p – a fall of 7.6 per cent. The drop follows a six per cent fall on Monday on news that the deal was pending.

Kevin Hand, EMAP group chief executive, said analysts would be more supportive once Petersen's longer-term potential was understood.

Founded in 1948, Petersen employs 800 people and publishes special-interest magazines, including Hot Rod, which has a paid-for circula-

tion of 800,000, and Motor Trend, a car magazine with more than a million subscribers.

Mr Hand said Petersen may be used to launch some EMAP titles in the US. EMAP is offering \$34 a share, valuing Petersen at \$1.2 billion. EMAP is also taking on \$300 million of debt. The price is a 45 per cent premium to Petersen's market valuation on Monday.

The UK publisher has launched a one-for-five rights issue at 875p a share to raise £369 million after expenses. The company said the cash would help fund the acquisition and give it resources to pursue other deals.

Petersen management have recommended the deal and EMAP already has acceptances representing 73 per cent of the equity.

Mr Hand has pledged to double profits over five years. He indicated yesterday that Petersen could account for half of EMAP's profits within this period.

BSkyB finds antidote to dish-phobia

Pact with builder may erase stigma, says Janine Gibson

BSKYB struck a blow yesterday against "dish-phobia" – a mainly middle-class condition which manifests itself in a pathological hatred of satellite dishes.

Rupert Murdoch's satellite company claims to have broken through the stigma by signing a deal with one of Britain's leading house builders, Wilcon Homes, to put digital dishes in the new properties it constructs.

SkyDigital, BSkyB's digital satellite television service, aims to steal a march over its terrestrial rival, ONdigital, through the deal. About 5,000 new homes to be built by Wilcon next year will come complete with a dish.

BSkyB is talking to eight other builders about similar arrangements.

A spokesman for the broadcaster said the company had not paid any money to Wilcon Homes. Wilcon would buy and

install the dishes "in discreet locations" around the house.

However, home-buyers will still have to buy a digital set-top decoder box and pay a subscription of up to £20 per month in order to receive Sky Digital's pay-television service of up to 200 channels.

It is the latest move in an increasingly bitter war between SkyDigital and ONdigital. Last month, BSkyB won a joint venture between Carlton Communications and the Granada Group – to change its advertising following a complaint from the satellite broadcaster.

ONdigital has said that the majority of the British public would prefer to receive a multi-channel television service without having an unsightly satellite dish attached to the house.

BSkyB admitted that such thinking was "100 per cent" behind the deal. A spokesman said: "There's still a class in

this country which is horribly dish-phobic. In France it's a status symbol, but here, when it was launched 10 years ago, it was considered 'council-house television'."

David Mote, director of marketing and communications at the New Homes Marketing Board, said the deal would create a new point of sale for Wilcon Homes and be predicted a rash of similar deals.

Mr Mote said: "Digital satellite television offers a tangible benefit to the new-home buyer that the majority of second-hand houses cannot match. Wilcon Homes has recognised this marketing advantage and, by committing to this product, has set a customer standard that I am sure other house builders will be quick to follow."

"The whole point of this deal is that dishes should become not noticeable, like a TV aerial."

● Pearson shares leapt 4 per cent yesterday after it told shareholders that revenues and profits would continue to grow despite widespread economic uncertainty.

Pearson's shares gained 41p to close at £11.06, having fallen from £11.59 a week ago amid market fears that the company's annual December trading statement would mirror the recent gloomy trend in the media sector.

But Pearson said trade has been in line with expectations in the second half, although the strong pound would trim full-year operating profits by about £8 million.



Notebook

In price terms, it is cool Britannia



Alex Brummer

THE interest rate cutters will remain in the ascendency when the bank of England's monetary policy meets early in 1999. At first glance the November retail price index may appear to give little comfort to those dreaming of lower mortgage payments, with the headline rate marginally down at 3 per cent and the target rate steady at 2.5 per cent for the fourth month running.

But the subterranean shifts are much more encouraging. Goods inflation is in retreat, with clothing and shoe prices leading the way down at 1.5 per cent lower than last year – the best outcome since 1983. Utility prices remain constrained, although they are not falling as heavily as they once were, and motoring costs are being driven down by low oil prices.

The service sector may appear to give some cause for concern with a slight rise to 3.5 per cent last month, but all the survey indications are that this is now coming off the boil.

Earnings are also moderating, as demonstrated by the latest figures from the engineering sector, where the average settlement fell 0.5 percentage points to 2.7 per cent.

hidden control over the whole industrial machine, through a complex of interlocking and secretively held holdings.

The lid came off the secrecy some time ago, but now Deutsche is taking the whole process further by creating a new industrial holding company.

This will effectively become an investment trust which eventually could be sold off to investors, widening share ownership and helping to create a more Anglo-Saxon share structure.

It is estimated that the holdings, which include big stakes in DaimlerChrysler and the insurance group Allianz, could be worth an estimated 40 billion German marks (£14 billion).

Realising all or part of that capital would also make it easier for the chairman, Rolf Breuer, to pursue his ambition to make Deutsche one of the world's dominant banks.

In the past month Deutsche already has poured on Bankers Trust in New York and the Belgian subsidiary of Credit Lyonnais of France.

The next target is thought to be a large French bank itself, if the authorities in Paris can be persuaded.

However, the actual translation of Franco-German relations into transnational deals is often extremely difficult, as is being seen in the defence sector. The Deutsche Bank move brings a symbolic end to industrial banking, once the model which many countries aspired.

Sears siege

AYEAR is a long time in business. It was then that the entrepreneur retailer, fresh from unpicking parts of the Sears empire Shoe Express and Olympus, made it clear that after his experiences with Amber Day in 1992, he was not much interested in the world of public companies.

At Amber Day he was effectively required to resign after the shares had tumbled from 130p to 35p leaving shareholders nursing heavy losses.

Clearly, however, his ambition is unrequited. After weeks of speculation that he is interested in buying the rump of Sears, the empire built up by the late Charles Clor, he has finally been flushed out by the Stock Exchange.

In a brief statement, Green's private company, Medinbond, disclosed that it has received letters of support from private investors interested in making a bid for Sears in excess of 300p, which places a value of £300 million on the group.

The response of the Sears board is entirely sensible – if Green is offering 300p it is almost certainly worth far in excess of this.

Anyone who followed the House of Fraser saga which rolled on through the 1980s will also be suspicious of bidders for stores groups who fail to properly disclose their sources of finance.

Sears' shareholders, who have had enough setbacks in recent years, would be well advised to steer clear of the Green proffering.

German divisions

THE Deutsche Bank decision to spin off its industrial holdings into a separate company has far-reaching significance.

It was not so long ago that the large German commercial banks in effect exerted huge

General Motors opts for a woman driver

Mark Tran in New York

GENERAL Motors' mould-breaking new head for its struggling Saturn unit will be a woman. Cynthia Trudell, named president of GM's small-car subsidiary, will be the first woman to lead a car division at any vehicle maker.

Before her appointment to Saturn, the 45-year-old was president of IBC Vehicles, a GM-Isuzu joint venture in Luton, which makes the four-wheel drive Frontera for the European market.

Dr Trudell is one of the few women with extensive production experience in the car industry. Most female managers and up in the personnel, legal, safety or government affairs divisions. Her doctorate is in physical chemistry.

Women account for 57 per

cent of Saturn buyers, so putting a woman in charge of the company makes sense, said Michael Robinet of CSM Forecasting in Southfield, Michigan.

Dr Trudell steps into Saturn at a difficult time. Sales have dipped in recent years because of a move away from small cars.

Saturn's US sales in the first 11 months of this year are down 8.6 per cent from the same period in 1997 as the company heads for its fifth year of declines.

"She has not come into an easy place," said Eric Noble, an analyst with AutoPacific in Santa Ana, California.

"Between the stagnant segment sales and GM's current bent toward centralisation, she's got her work cut out for her."

TOURIST RATES – BANK BELLS			
Australia 2.64	Germany 2.7384	Malaysia 6.40	Singapore 2.73
Austria 13.01	Greece 454.86	Malta 0.01	South Africa 9.59
Belgium 55.79	Hong Kong 12.72	Netherlands 3.0481	Spain 228.92
Canada 2.5282	India 71.84	New Zealand 5.15	Sweden 13.37
Cyprus 0.0024	Ireland 1.0854	Norway 12.79	Switzerland 2.19
Denmark 10.38	Israel 7.01	Portugal 275.72	Turkey 484.880
Finland 8.21	Italy 2.700	Saudi Arabia 6.22	US 1.5415
France 6.907			

2000 bug opens banks to crooked computer experts

Dan Atkinson

BANKS are being targeted by crooked computer consultants making millions of pounds from bill-padding for work on preparation for the European single currency and year 2000 date-change, accountants Arthur Andersen have warned.

In one case, \$5 million-worth of work was invoiced at nearly £20 million.

Making matters worse are the waves of mergers,

cost-cutting and redundancies, causing senior staff to worry more about their jobs than preventing fraud.

In extreme cases, employees with access to budgets have worked hand-in-glove with outside consultants, splitting the proceeds of the swindle.

Andersen's anti-fraud chief Simon Bevan said the millennium bug and the need for banks to prepare to deal in the single currency, the euro, provided huge opportunities for dishonest

computer consultants to cut a slice of the multi-million pound budgets set aside by banks to sort out the problems.

Banks then exacerbated the problem by announcing mass redundancies, sometimes adding the very people whose experience would have alerted them to false invoicing.

Those fleeing the banks are not the well known consultancy firms, but ad hoc teams put together to tender for work on the date

change and the euro. Those with someone "on the inside" are best-placed to defraud the banks and – to add insult to injury – the work they do is often sub-standard.

Already the millennium bug – the inability of computer software installed years ago to recognise the switch from the 20th to 21st century – has provided a huge bonanza for computer firms and software engineers and the overhaul of City systems to prepare

them for the euro, a currency that currently has no history and no exchange rate, and to terminate dealings in francs, marks and other European currencies, has created a second boom for the industry.

Even without the mass sackings and the disruptions caused by mega-mergers in banking, this would have proved fertile ground for the fraudster. As it is, Mr Bevan warned, "employees will be so busy wondering whether they will

have a job in the New Year that they will miss the fraudsters lining their own pockets."

There is also a further consequence of any mass redundancies. If an organisation decides to remove managerial staff because this is the way to make the most savings with the minimum of job losses, the organisation will, at a stroke, remove those individuals who have the wealth of experience to detect and prevent fraud in the future."

Sears' stalker forced into the open

Roger Cowe

SEARS, the retailing company, yesterday finished out entrepreneur Philip Green as a potential bidder after weeks of rumour about a takeover for the struggling company which has been breaking itself up over the past few years.

Mr Green was forced by the Takeover Panel to make a statement in which he made clear his interest in buying the remains of what was once Britain's biggest retailer.

He revealed that he had set up a company called Medinbond, which would be a vehicle for making a public offer for Sears.

But Mr Green also said yesterday that he would not make an offer unless it was recommended by the Sears board.

previously co-operated in buying the Olympus chain from Sears in 1995.

Sears was quick to note that Mr Green's statement was highly conditional and said it did not constitute an actual offer. A spokesman said that even if all the conditions were met the price indicated would not meet Sears' view of what the company is worth.

The statement from Mr Green said that cash might be available to finance an offer "in excess of 300p per share". Sears' 258.5p closing share price yesterday valued the company at almost £400 million, and analysts are expecting any offer to be in the region of £450 million.

But Mr Green also said yesterday that he would not make an offer unless it was recommended by the Sears board.

And he made clear that he would want to undertake a "due diligence" exercise to investigate the company's affairs before he could put a price on the shop chains and other assets.

Sears has already sold its shoe shop chains, including Dolcis, Saxone and Freeman Hardy Willis, and demerged the Selfridges department store. It had planned to float the Freeman's mail order business after being prevented by the Monopolies Commission from selling it to Littlewoods. But the demerger of Freeman's has been stalled because of its poor performance and the slide in the stock market.

N Brown Group, Britain's sixth largest mail-order company, said it was still interested in buying Freeman's. "We

would be delighted to talk to anyone who is in a position to sell it," said a spokesman.

The main prize remaining in the group is thought to be the credit card operation, now named Creation Financial Services. This company manages cards for Selfridges and the remaining Sears shops.

The clothing chains Miss Selfridges, Wallis, Warehouse, Richards and Adams, have struggled along with other retailers on the high street. But Mr Green is thought to believe he can recoup much of his investment by selling on the other businesses, leaving him the task of improving the performance of these shops.

Ian Macdonald, an analyst at Williams de Broe, said he expected Green's offer to be about 300p. Sears break-up value was 370p a share.

From riches to rag trade

PHILIP Green is the classic entrepreneur. He left school with few academic trophies but took over a family property company and then moved into the rag trade, making a fortune in a series of deals beginning in the mid-1980s.

Born into the North London Jewish business community, Mr Green had access to deals and money, and used them to experiment in various enterprises, becoming more and more involved in clothes retailing.

There were several failures in the 1980s, including a clothing importer,

Cupcraft, and Buzzville, a manufacturer of women's clothes.

Mr Green also failed with a Joan Collins Jeans Company venture but compensated with the success of Jean Jeanté, another jeans retailer. He became a millionaire in 1985 when he sold the business to the jeans company Lee Cooper.

With the money he made from that deal, Mr Green made his first foray into the stock market in 1988 when he bought into Amber Day, a struggling menswear retailer. That business was transformed two years later with the purchase of What Everyone Wants, the



Philip Green... deal search
Scottish discount clothes chain. The shops had a tough time in the early

1990s recession, however, and institutional investors became concerned about governance issues in the board structure.

In 1992 he was ousted from W&W when profits failed to meet forecasts. Since, he has proved the high street looking for deals — and proved a friend to receivers while displaying a better eye for value than many big businesses.

Mr Green has been a loyal customer of the Sears group. His first purchase, three years ago, was the Olympus sportswear chain. He also bought the Shoe Express chain. Both were quickly sold on.

Taxpayers lost £1.5bn on sale of Railtrack

The Tories' pre-election railway sell-off has upset the national auditors, reports **Keith Harper**

THE taxpayer could have saved up to £1.5 billion if the last Conservative government had effected a phased sale of Railtrack instead of getting rid of it before the election, a critical report from the National Audit Office concludes.

The report — called for by Parliament and published today — examines the controversial sale of Britain's signalling, track and railway stations to Railtrack, which was valued at £1.9 billion at the time of the sell-off in July 1996. Today, almost two-and-a-half years later, its market value is more than £8 billion.

The report, by the head of the NAO, Sir John Bourn, reveals that the Department of Transport could have taken a different approach to the privatisation and the value of the deal it could have presented to the taxpayer.

Railtrack's sale was completed last year as an election loomed, says the report. Any delay might have led to a "possible postponement of the sale, which might have made it more difficult to generate market interest."

The NAO has carried out calculations, and considers that overall sales proceeds might have been increased by at least £600 million had the Government planned a phased sale and retained 30 per cent of the shares, and by £1.5 billion had it retained 40 per cent.

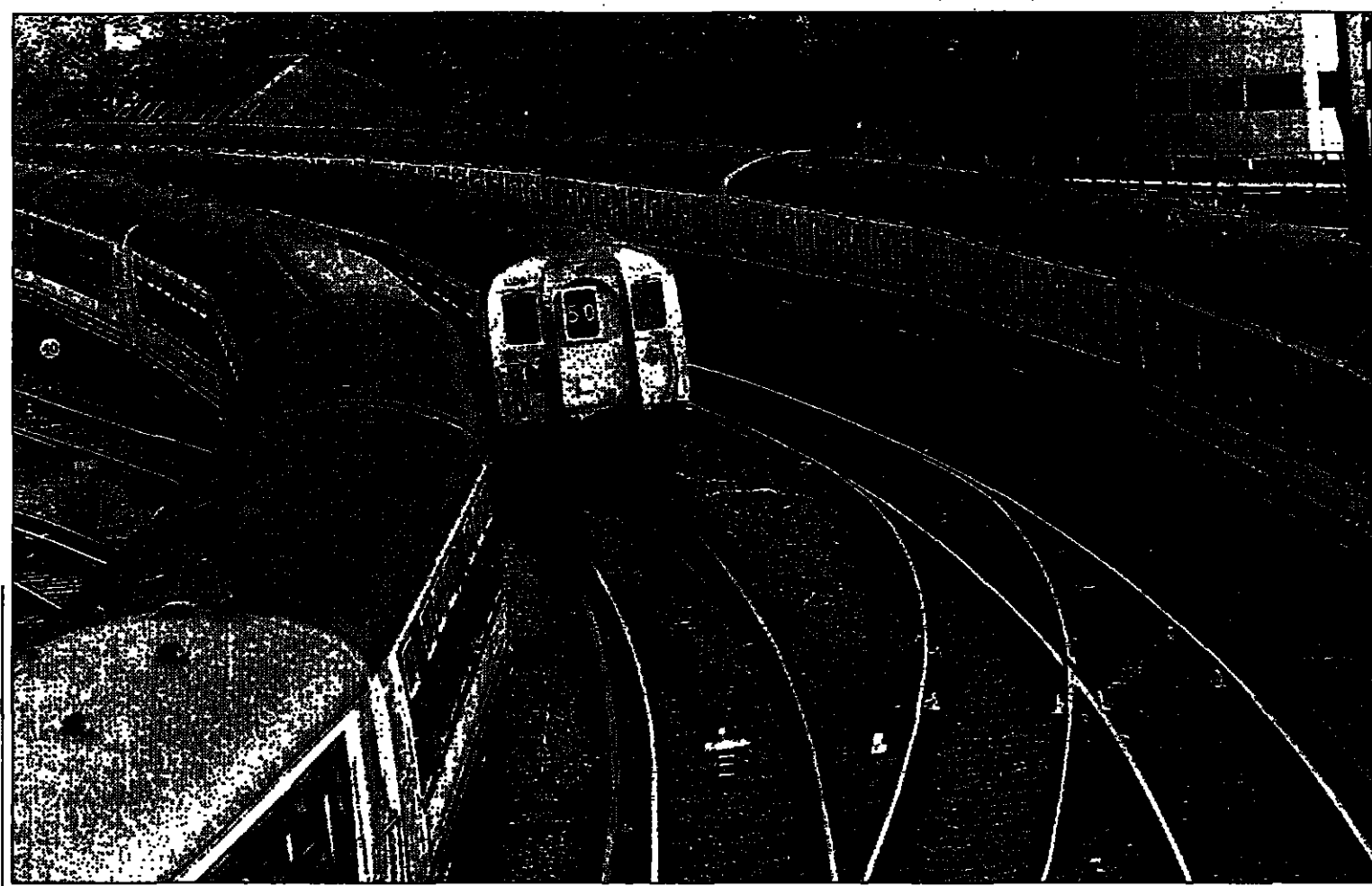
David Davis, chairman of the Public Accounts Committee,

tee which called for the report, said: "The flotation of Railtrack is yet another case where a failure to apply our recommendations to the sale process has caused the taxpayer to lose out this time to the tune of some £1.5 billion in an otherwise successful privatisation."

Privatisations carried out in stages, says the report, have nearly always resulted in higher total proceeds for the Government than if 100 per cent of the shares had been sold initially. The NAO says that the increase in Railtrack's share price — from £3.90 at the time of flotation to £16.05 at the end of October this year when the report was completed — suggests that a phased sale would have been more likely to yield much larger returns than a sale of all the shares at once.

But the then prime minister, John Major, decided on a 100 per cent sale because he was concerned about the impact of a partial sale on the confidence of investors in the shadow of a possible election. The transport department also advised ministers that investors might be put off if the Government became a stakeholder, able to exert an influence over Railtrack.

The department's marketing advisers told ministers that retaining residual equity stake in Railtrack might have sparked a loss of confidence that a 100 per cent sale would eventually be achieved. They said there would have



The 1996 sale of tracks such as these near London's Victoria station 'has caused the taxpayer to lose out'

PHOTOGRAPH: ROGER TOOTH

Fed-up rail staff threaten their first strike in 75 years

WHILE collar workers at Connex, the train company serving the south London suburbs, are so angry with the French-owned operator they are threatening their first strike in 75 years, writes **Keith Harper**.

The Transport Salaried Staffs Association has not walked off the job since the 1926 general strike. But a

survey of 1,016 staff carried out by TSSA reveals widespread discontent.

Typical remarks include: "It is like working for a second hand car dealer 10 years ago — both the job and save money" and "There's only so much you can prune a tree before it dies".

The union has written to the deputy prime minister, John Prescott, asking him

to decide whether Connex deserves to continue to hold its franchise.

The survey says that there has been a gradual erosion of confidence in the company.

One union member, representing white collar staff and middle management, said: "Just when you think the service can't get worse, it does. It seems higher

management do not listen to staff who actually run the railway."

The TSSA assistant general secretary, Jon Allen, said: "The chaos facing passengers and staff alike is a direct result of Connex's inability to think about what would happen if it fails to get an extension to its seven-year franchise."

He said: "Connex is riddled with bullying. Communications are terrible and staff don't feel managers have any sense of direction."

Connex said last night that it had recently changed its management structures, which had inevitably led to redundancies. "It is not surprising that this has bred uncertainty,"

been a real risk of the sale falling altogether.

The NAO recommends that future government privatisations should start with the presumption that better value for money will be achieved by selling shares in stages. It says it was wrong of the government to agree to

promise a 19 per cent return to investors in the first year, although this was done to achieve a quick sale. Without this dividend, the shares would have yielded a 9.5 per cent return, which was still "relatively attractive" compared with other investment opportunities.

Sir John says that even a delay of several months to the autumn of 1996 would have been helpful to institutional investors and analysts. It would have enabled them to gain a better appreciation of Railtrack's business in the industry. At the time of the sale, the market was only begin-

ning to understand the industry's new commercial and regulatory structure.

The NAO also feels that the position of the government's financial adviser, SBC Warburg, could have led to a "potential conflict of interests" between its role in providing advice on the sale and its addi-

tional role in looking after the department's global interests. The bank had a "direct financial interest" in maximising the size of the sale.

Mr Davis said there might be a need to issue more stringent guidance that would effectively rule out any potential for conflict of interests.

Holidays still first choice

Jill Treanor

BRITONS have been jetting off to find fun and sun to escape the gloom and doom at home — to the relief of First Choice Holidays which yesterday reported record profits. However, the country's third largest holiday chain said it would be cutting capacity by between 3 per cent and 5 per cent next year in anticipation of heightened fears about job security which it believed might reduce late bookings.

Peter Long, managing director, acknowledged that the holiday sector was, so far, bucking the trend inflicted on many other retail sectors, where weak consumer spending has led to a slump on the high street. In contrast, holi-

days, according to Mr Long, have become a "must" for the consumer.

The disappointing English summers have in part played a role in encouraging holidays abroad, Greener is becoming a popular destination once again, Mr Long said. Rival Thomas Cook agreed, yesterday citing the strength of the pound against the drachma. Thomas Cook said more than a fifth of summer holidays have already been sold but predicted slightly fewer Britons would head for foreign shores next year.

In the year to end-October, First Choice reported profits of £35 million, which rises to £50 million if the businesses it acquired this year are added on.

First Choice accelerated the



Greece is popular again, thanks to the weak drachma

pace of consolidation in the holiday market earlier this year when it bought rivals Unijet and Hayes & Jarvis but yesterday claimed the wave of takeovers in the British market was over. The group is also expanding on the high street, buying a number of shop chains in October, and it now intends to open more stores.

Another independent holiday company was sold yesterday when Voyages Jules Ferme, the private company, was bought by Rhoni, the Swiss travel company, for an undisclosed amount. Ian Chubb, chairman of First Choice, said, however, that the "feeding frenzy" in Britain is now over.

Citigroup job cuts increase bankers' employment fears

Jill Treanor and Alex Brummer

London's financial community feared a further jobs shake-out last night after Citigroup, America's biggest financial company, announced it was seeking more than 10,000 people worldwide.

The cuts will wipe \$900 million off Citigroup's profits in the fourth quarter of the year, on top of heavy losses in the third quarter as a result of market turmoil. The financial group, only formed this year through the merger of two US financial houses, believes that the cutbacks will eventually result in savings of \$975 million (£540 million) per year by 2000.

The group, which has extensive investment banking and corporate banking interests in the City, warned that the round of cuts were the results of post-mer-

ger plans and not directly related to the market turbulence which has led to an estimated 80,000 job losses in London.

The accelerated integration of the group is expected to propel Salomon Smith Barney out of its headquarters above Victoria Station to Canary Wharf.

It was pointed out that much of the integration of the foreign exchange and fixed-income business had already taken place after the merger, so London might not take the brunt of the losses this time.

Instead, most of the 10,000 job losses will be in consumer banking, with 35 per cent in the United States.

Of the savings, some \$350 million will be in the corporate business, which is a significant London activity.

Citigroup stressed last night that the round of cuts were the results of post-mer-

ger plans and not directly related to the market turbulence which has led to an estimated 80,000 job losses in London.

Deutsche Bank is expected to reveal plans today to hire 600 jobs in London (£14 billion) of stakes that it owns in leading companies such as DaimlerChrysler in a move expected to force a shake-up in Germany's corporate culture.

It also believed that it will protect the company from heavy tax liabilities.

Germany's leading companies have an interest in one another through a web of cross-holdings and analysts expect the bank's decision to encourage rivals to consider a similar route.

Deutsche said yesterday that it would spin off its industrial holdings and become an "active portfolio manager". The bank has owned some of the stakes for more than 70 years.

Japan seeks reserve fund

JAPAN'S finance minister yesterday proposed the creation of an Asian "bulwark" fund to fend off speculative attacks on the region's currencies. Kichii Miyazawa, manager of the world's second largest economy, said Asian nations such as Japan and China should pool their reserves to create the fund, which, he said, could build on Tokyo's plan to supply \$30 billion to the worst affected nations. — **Jonathan**

Banana spat goes global

THE prospect of the widest-ranging trade war between Europe and the US for more than 10 years came closer yesterday as senior American officials rejected European Union attempts to resolve the banana dispute through the World Trade Organisation. — **Stephen Bates**

Buiter attacks secrecy at Euro bank

Mark Atkinson

Economics Correspondent

WILLEM Buiter, who sits on the Bank of England's monetary policy committee, launched an outspoken attack last night on the secrecy of the European Central Bank, which will control interest rates inside the euro zone from January.

He said the failure of the ECB to publish a public voting record would compromise its independence from politi-

cians. The bank's governing council had too many members to be effective, he added, while it remained unclear who was responsible for dealing with financial crises.

He also blamed Margaret Thatcher's decision to sign the Single European Act in 1986 — not the imminent birth of the euro currency — for the drift towards EU tax harmonisation. "Margaret Thatcher was the midwife of a federal Europe — who would have thought it?" Prof Buiter told

an audience at London's South Bank University.

A supporter of the euro, Prof Buiter said the currency's survival was threatened by a popular perception of a lack of political legitimacy.

ECB board members would not be protected from manipulation by their political masters. Whatever the confidentiality of ECB votes, the national heads of government would know exactly who voted in favour of what within five minutes of a vote being taken.

Prof Buiter said council members would be able to hide behind the cloak of confidentiality and avoid having to justify or defend yielding to political pressures.

"The exercise of undue influence is not deterred by secrecy and confidentiality but only by openness," he said. He said that to be effective the ECB council would have to slum down from its current 17 members, which was too large for a serious and productive exchange of views.

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Sport and money

New funds for the class of 2004

Duncan Mackay
on a scheme to find winners in the next millennium

BRITAIN'S young Olympic hopefuls of the next millennium are set to receive unprecedented financial support.

The English Sports Council, building on the success of the successful World Class Performance Programme, announced yesterday that £50 million worth of national lottery funding would be available next year.

This doubles the previous sum available, extending the programme to the younger age groups so that a broader pool of talent is able to benefit from its early funding of elite performers in a variety of Olympic sports but particularly athletics, swimming and gymnastics.

The two new programme areas will be World Class Start and World Class Potential, with annual budgets of £10 million and £15 million respectively. The existing World Class Performance Programme for Britain's elite athletes will continue with an annual budget of £25 million.

The aim of the World Class Start Programme will be to identify and nurture Britain's most talented young people before moving them on to the World Class Potential Programme. It is hoped the scheme will identify the potential Olympic medal winners of the 2004 and 2008 Games.

The World Class Performance Programme has already awarded £30 million to more than 30 different sports to support the training and preparation programmes of elite performers competing at international level.

It is paying dividends. The

past year has seen British sportsmen and women enjoy unprecedented success at the European Athletics Championships and the World Rowing Championships. Furthermore, at the European Short-Course Championships in Sheffield last weekend British swimmers won seven gold medals and set three world records.

"We are seeing a revolution here and a lot of it is down to the funding we are now receiving through the national lottery," said Ian Turner, coach to the 50 metres gold medalist and world record holder Mark Foster.

"It's not just the financial help it's providing for the swimmers but also the improvement it has produced in areas like sports science and support services."

This latest initiative is designed to identify and develop young talent so that British sport can produce medal winners year after year. As David Moorcroft, the chief executive of UK Athletics 98, said: "Last year Steve Cram asked: 'Do we want to be up there with the eagles or down on the ground with the turkeys?'"

"I know where we want to be — up there high in the sky — and this sort of money means things we have heard in the past like 'people succeeding in spite of the system' should never be heard again," he added.

Derick Casey, the chief executive of the BSC, hopes this latest funding will put an end to tales of parents having to sell their homes or take two jobs to help support talented youngsters. "I no longer want to see talented performers drop out or parents frustrated because of lack of investment in real talent," he said.

"Only if we support the most talented individuals can we help them to reach their potential and excel on the world stage."



Baton charge... China's Xuemei Li sets off on the anchor leg of the women's 4 x 100m relay in Bangkok yesterday en route to setting an Asian Games record of 43.96sec, more than a second ahead of Uzbekistan

SPORTS NEWS 13

Racing Jockey Club lose ground in BHB shake-up

PETER SAVILL denied there was any ulterior motive in reducing the Jockey Club's representation when yesterday he announced the first shake-up of the British Horseracing Board since he became chairman.

To "constitutional reform" which will alter the balance of the board for the first time since it was formed five years ago, one of the four Jockey Club members will go, along with one of the three members of the industry committee, their seats being taken by a representative of the Thoroughbred Breeders' Association and an independent director.

These changes are part of a package that Savill sees as streamlining the bureaucracy of the BHB and bringing the governing body closer to fulfilling its financial plan.

He insisted: "The perception that there is a desire to gradually squeeze the Jockey Club out of any involvement is wrong."

The Jockey Club's senior steward Christopher Spence, who along with David Oldrey, Andrew Parker Bowles and David Sieff, must wait to see whose seat is going to be pulled away, will be recommending the proposals to his membership.

He said: "The Jockey Club has not yet had a chance to debate the proposals, but we recognise after five years that to us to lose one seat for the greater good of the industry was sensible and constructive for the way forward."

"Our main aim is to achieve the goal of the Financial Plan," said Savill, who revealed that political opinion had suggested the BHB's unwieldiness was hindering its decision-making.

The betting industry is still without representation though Savill did suggest that situation could alter.

"Our goal is to get the financial structure in place in

Catterick

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

Dead, hot-handed track of just under 10m with 240yds run-in. Sharp breaks make it unsuitable for the top-class milers.

Good, good to soft in places. * Denotes blunders.

Season-day winners: 2.30 Connaught 3.30 Ballymoss, 3.30 Profit Agency.

Weather: Fine.

Figures in brackets after horse's name denote days since last outing.

1.00 BELLEVUE NOVICE CHASE

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

Dead, hot-handed track of just under 10m with 240yds run-in. Sharp breaks make it unsuitable for the top-class milers.

Good, good to soft in places. * Denotes blunders.

Season-day winners: 2.30 Connaught 3.30 Ballymoss, 3.30 Profit Agency.

Weather: Fine.

Figures in brackets after horse's name denote days since last outing.

1.30 CATERICK CLUB 1998 'JOHN UP NOW' ANNUAL HURDLE

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

Dead, hot-handed track of just under 10m with 240yds run-in. Sharp breaks make it unsuitable for the top-class milers.

Good, good to soft in places. * Denotes blunders.

Season-day winners: 2.30 Connaught 3.30 Ballymoss, 3.30 Profit Agency.

Weather: Fine.

Figures in brackets after horse's name denote days since last outing.

2.00 CHRISTMAS HANDICAP CHASE

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

Dead, hot-handed track of just under 10m with 240yds run-in. Sharp breaks make it unsuitable for the top-class milers.

Bangor Jackpot card with guide to the form

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

12.40 STANLEY LEASURE CONDITIONAL JOCKEYS' HANDICAP HURDLE

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

1.40 TOTE HANDICAP HURDLE

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

2.40 ASTURBY WHEN NOVICE HURDLE

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

2.50 THAMES NURSERY HANDICAP 2YO

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

3.10 BODFORD STUD HANDICAP CHASE

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

3.40 INTERMEDIATE OPEN N.H. FLAT RACE

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

3.50 CUCKERMEY HANDICAP (DIV 2)

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

4.20 BSS HANDICAP (DIV 2)

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

4.50 SEVERN SELLING STAKES 2YO

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

5.00 BSS HANDICAP (DIV 1)

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

5.30 TRENT APPRENTICES' HANDICAP

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

Results

RON COX	TOP FORM
1.00 River Don (10)	River Don
1.30 Marmora	Crabtree's Pride
2.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
2.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.00 Ballymoss	Ballymoss
3.30 Ballymoss	Ballymoss

KEEPING TRACK

09064 700 +	COMMENTARY	RESULTS
CATERICK	141	151
BANGOR	142	152
WOLVERHAMPTON	143	153
ALL COURSES COMMENTARY	09064 700 140	
ALL COURSES RESULTS	09064 700 150	

TheGuardian INTERACTIVE

Lottery boost for youth sport, page 13

England slide to defeat in Adelaide, page 15

Newcastle in £160m takeover talks, page 14

Blackburn snap up Gillespie, page 14

SportsGuardian

Turmoil at Lancaster Gate

Exit Kelly, the FA fall guy

One down and the chairman
Keith Wiseman refusing to go.
David Lacey reports

WEARING his Southampton coroner's hat, Keith Wiseman might have recorded a verdict on yesterday's events at the Football Association as death by misadventure. Except that the victim was Graham Kelly and he fell on his sword.

Only the FA, which is the personification of Bumbledom FC, could find itself in a situation where its top professional administrator resigns as a matter of honour while its amateur titular head clings to office despite a unanimous vote of no confidence from the executive committee.

Governments defeated on confidence motions call general elections but FA chairmen, it seems, will not be

quickly: Fifa will decide in 18 months who is to host the next tournament but one.

This is hardly the ideal time for the FA to be tearing itself apart over an unauthorised £3.3 million loan to the FA of Wales linked, it has been alleged, to the election of a Fifa vice-president. Even if the money was merely being lent to promote youth football in the Principality, Wiseman and Kelly still had to explain the circumstances of how such a sum came to be promised.

It is odd to think that when Wiseman, a solicitor and Southampton director, succeeded Sir Bert Millichip as FA chairman after the 1996 European Championship, his election promised a period of calm at Lancaster Gate. Millichip's tendency to make the off-the-cuff pronouncements to the media on important matters had been an embarrassment but surely Wiseman, who at 51 was 30 years younger, would live up to his name.

How wrong can a hypothesis be? First it emerged that having been rejected by the Premier League as an unsuitable successor to Millichip, Wiseman had exploited a loophole in FA regulations which enabled him to stand in opposition to that league's official candidate, Sheffield Wednesday's David Richards, as a nominee of one of the county association sections.

Having won office, he raised eyebrows by attempting to become the FA's first paid chairman, asking for around £75,000. This time, however, he did not win the vote and was no more successful in his attempt to secure a seat on the Uefa executive committee, finishing eighth out of 13 candidates.

However, it was Wiseman's unilateral declaration of support for Glenn Hoddle signing a new extended contract that raised the initial hackles on the FA executive and, when he switched England's vote for Fifa president from Lennart Johansson to Sepp Blatter shortly before the election, serious questions began to be asked about his terms of office.

Now Kelly has plunged over the precipice leaving Wiseman clinging to the cliff edge. As an eight-times winner of the Hampshire singles title in lawn tennis he may, even now, be hoping to win a line call. To which the FA may feel entitled to reply: "Wiseman, you cannot be serious!"

At best it seems Wiseman will survive no longer than the next full FA council meeting on January 4

moved. Wiseman's stubbornness is an embarrassment and leaves the FA in a vacuum.

In asking Geoff Thompson, the FA's vice-chairman, to take over for the time being the executive committee as good as declared Wiseman's chairmanship defunct. At best it seems he will survive no longer than the next full FA council meeting on January 4.

It is hard to believe that the members of the executive went into their meeting believing Kelly's 10 years in office would end so abruptly while Wiseman would still be there. Kelly is one of football's most experienced administrators. Before joining the FA he was for nine years secretary of the Football League.

The fact that David Davies, the former television journalist who has been the FA's director of public affairs, is now the acting chief executive may give an early clue as to the identity of Kelly's full-time successor. With time rapidly running out for England's 2006 World Cup bid the matter needs to be cleared up



Sitting it out... the FA chairman Keith Wiseman, who is refusing to give up his seat after a unanimous no-confidence vote yesterday by his executive over an alleged loan-for-votes scandal. PHOTOGRAPH: SEAN DENNEY

Moderniser who failed the test of leadership

Martin Thorpe
says Graham Kelly
may be relieved to be
out of the firing line

THE sharpest description of Graham Kelly appeared in this paper: "A glum bear wearing his hibernation date," wrote the correspondent with the cartoonist's eye. Well, now the former chief executive of the Football Association can have a good kip.

Kelly's sleepy countenance was part birthright but perhaps also a consequence of the rigours of a job that demanded keeping five balls in the air at the same time, while someone kicked him regularly in the shins.

If it was not Hillsborough it was Cantona, or Merson, or Graham. But despite the diary-packed hours Kelly, who is 53 next week, never convinced people that he was the sort of dynamic leader the game required as it headed down the money-paved road to the new millennium.

During his 10-year reign the critics constantly derided the FA for being out of touch. And much of that perception, fairly or not, was down to the hapless impression given by the chief executive's face, whether in responding to crises or merely staring woodenly into the camera to announce yet another FA Cup draw.

The man who proudly rose from bank clerk to lead the domestic game — and earn around £200,000 a year for doing so — once described his mission as being to "modernise the FA, to make it more responsive and more positive in meeting the needs of football from the bottom to the top".

Cynics might say that the only change he presided over was from velvet bag to plastic tomahawk. But that would be harsh. Trying to turn the giant tanker that is the FA's 85-man legislative council is one hell of a job.

And his jurisdiction embraced everything in the game from amateur football

to services, schools to women's football. But perception counts for a lot.

He had human side, though. Once, when driving home from a game, a car crashed in front of him. Instead of cursing and driving on, he ran down the central reservation of the dual carriageway and flagged down oncoming cars.

And contrary to appearances he also possessed a sense of humour. When voted by readers of one football magazine as "the person who has done most damage to football" he turned up at the awards ceremony dressed in evening suit and bow-tie and gave a wonderful acceptance speech that brought the house down.

His dead-pan demeanour was perfect then. But often Kelly's face sent out the wrong message.

Born in Blackpool the only son of a tram driver, Kelly, a self-declared loner, went from Barclays Bank to the accounts department of the Football League, rising to assistant secretary in 1974 then secretary on the retirement of Alan Hardaker five years later.

He then succeeded Ted Croker at the FA and within six weeks of taking over was presiding over the Hillsborough tragedy. Since then he has shown courage, in backing anti-racism measures, and concern, in backing moves to rehabilitate the addicted Paul Merson rather than ostracising him.

In 1991 he steered forward the FA's Blueprint For Football which led to the formation of the Premier League. But even this turned out to be an illusion of FA leadership. The Premier League became the cuckoo in the nest, and is arguably now more powerful than the FA. Where he also failed was in modernising the cumbersome structure of the FA itself.

Kelly still plays football, as a striker now. During his tenure as chief executive he could be found on most Saturdays at a game, more often non-league than Premier League. But his time at the FA saw him divorced and pilloried. And the old bear might just feel relieved to be out of the firing line.

Uncovering the trail

THE promise of a £3.2 million loan to the Football Association of Wales may appear from the outside a generous gesture from a wealthy governing body to a poorer counterpart. But in reality this whole affair turned out to be a loan-for-votes scandal, for this massive amount of money was allegedly promised in exchange for the guarantee of Welsh backing in a Fifa ballot.

On top of this, senior FA figures were horrified to discover that the cash had been offered without regard to normal procedures and without the usual consultation. Details of the loan came to light

only when the FA finance committee received an invoice from the FAW for the first instalment of the loan. And, though it soon emerged that the FA chairman Keith Wiseman had promised the loan, Graham Kelly's signature appeared on the correspondence.

An FA sub-committee was detailed to inquire into the loan last May. The findings of the sub-committee, which comprised the Arsenal vice-chairman David Dein, the Ipswich chairman and the former Football League chairman David Sheepshanks and an FA vice-president Geoffrey Thompson, were put

before yesterday's FA executive committee meeting which led to Kelly's resignation.

The row is allegedly linked to the election earlier this year of a Fifa vice-president to represent the home countries, a post currently held by the Scot David Will.

Since the retirement of Wiseman's predecessor as FA chairman, Sir Bert Millichip, England have lacked a voice in the corridors of power at Uefa and Fifa.

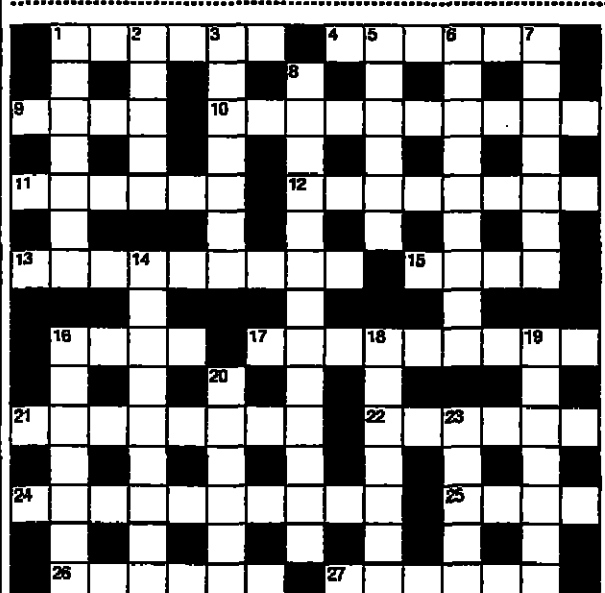
So, had the Uefa president Lennart Johansson not Sepp Blatter been successful in becoming the new Fifa president during

the summer, then it was thought that Will would have tried for the vacant position of Uefa president, leaving his own vice-president post free. This is when it is believed Welsh votes would allegedly have come into play in backing Wiseman for the job.

Last Friday the FA of Wales, after being informed by the FA that the £3.2 million was offered without the correct authorisation, agreed to accept just £200,000 over three years rather than the original £400,000 a year until 2005 which Wiseman and Kelly had promised.

Martin Thorpe

Guardian Crossword No 21,459



Across

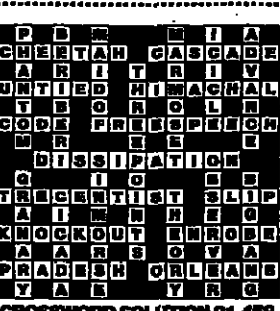
- 1 Sculptor has ability with eggs (6)
- 4 Young motorist has bottle (6)
- 9 Young detective is pleased (4)
- 10 High-flier on the bench gone gaga among the... the French (5,5)
- 11 Something that sticks to water in the office (6)
- 12 Calculation here makes the Nile run with milk (6)
- 13 Unit of destruction causes oath in Irish county (6)
- 15 Bribe the cat? (4)
- 16 Connive at success for the king (4)
- 17 South American sailors fed with flesh? (6)
- 21 A viscous substance, that's me, with some too young or too old (5,5)
- 22 Withdraw from the diocese about a month back (6)

- 24 Billing and cooking in rhyme (5-5)
- 25 Inverted Englishman's hair (4)
- 26 Catch the lady at lesser altitude (6)
- 27 1 ac's work with airs (6)

Down

- 1,3 The arts are dead meat to me (7,7)
- 2 Prompting repeatedly associated with 16 ac (5)
- 3 See 1 down
- 5 Splitting a Lombardy poplar's crown causes coolness (6)
- 6 City in credit with little flower (6)
- 7 A record for Christmas? (4,3)
- 8 Silver surplus requires one local person ensuring cohesion (10)
- 14 Abolition is about keeping a student among the miners (6)
- 16 Old man without hair-piece — admit him here! (7)
- 18 Metal tealer or foolish philosopher? (7)
- 19 Model in digs broadcast news (7)
- 20 Blur made sweet music initially for topless 2 (6)
- 23 Funny little company for Marx cat's prey? (5)

Set by Araucaria



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John's 10.15.20

2 • Wednesday December 16 1998 The Guardian



Under fire... Menchú, seen here containing the survivors of a recent massacre, had her Nobel nomination blocked by Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Writer of Wrongs

Rigoberta Menchú, champion of Guatemala's poor and oppressed, was a darling of the left who beat Nelson Mandela to the Nobel Prize. But a US scholar claims she made up much of the book which built her reputation. **Michael Ellison** sifts the evidence

Rigoberta Menchú's story is that of the classic triumph of the weak and the oppressed over the rich and powerful. Of her impoverished, ill-educated Guatemalan peasant family strangled through generations against oppression and exploitation only to be rewarded with death and exile. And it has a remarkable ending, with the self-effacing Menchú, having traded marriage and motherhood for a selfless life as a symbol of her people's struggle, receiving first the warm embrace of the intellectual left and later the ultimate emblem of international respect, the Nobel Peace Prize. Menchú had acquired the status of an unofficial head of state. But that was then. Yesterday she stood accused of being at worst an outright fraud, at best a freedom fighter with a questionable grasp on the landmark event of her family's destruction.

It was her autobiography — *I, Rigoberta Menchú* — that transformed her from a human rights activist into the 1992 peace prize winner, spawned by a global group from across the spectrum of concern that included Jesse Jackson, the American open star, and other luminaries. Her Nobel nomination was supported by former winners such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu of Cape Town and Oscar Arias, the former Costa Rican president. These she left behind on the shortlist included a joint slate of Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk of South Africa.

Now another less well-known name and another book enter the Menchú story. The American anthropologist David Stoll, who has spent 10 years interviewing 200 people for his alternative history, *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*, says that here "cannot be the eyewitness account it purports to be because it describes experiences she never had herself."

Dr Stoll says that much of her book is a composite of experiences common to others in "rugged Guatemala and 'graciously' revived the pre-war experience of the village to suit the needs of the revolutionary organisation she had joined. By presenting herself as an overwoman, she has tried to be all things to all people in a way no individual can be."

Research by Dr Stoll, a Latin American expert who teaches at Middlebury College, Vermont, has been substantiated by a series of interviews for the New York Times.

Friends and family neighbours and acquaintances in her mountain home of San Miguel Uspantán take issue with much of 39-year-old Menchú's book, which has been translated into 12 languages and sold hundreds of thousands of copies, saying that much of it is fabricated or exaggerated. Menchú maintains the opposite at the centre of her book was between wealthy landowners of European descent who, with the assistance of the government, drove her father and other Indians off unclaimed land they had cultivated.

They say it was actually a feud between peasant families.

She says she saw a younger brother die of starvation and that she and her parents were forced to watch as another was burned to death by the army.

They say the first brother did not exist and that the other died in different circumstances from which the family was absent.

She says that she never went to school, could not speak Spanish, and was illiterate until shortly before she collaborated on her book.

They say she was a scholarship student at two private boarding schools run by Roman Catholic nuns. She says worked as a cover political organiser and up to eight months a year as a labourer on the coffee and cotton crops.

They say this is highly unlikely because she was at boarding school. No one disputes that Menchú, who claims to have had a leading role in the Guerrilla Army of the Poor, went into exile in Mexico as a 22-year-old during her country's 36-year civil war, which ended in 1996 after claiming more than 100,000 lives.

And few dispute that her father, mother and two of her brothers were killed by the security forces. "She suffered greatly, seeing her whole family dispersed by the violence," said

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Quick Crossword No. 8932

Across

- Time allowed to be for sale (6-9)
- Faded wound mark (4)
- Wake up without breakfast (9)
- Cass (4)
- Imperial colour (9)
- Beat (9)
- Sour from decay (9)
- Sculptured (as images) (9)
- Nice — OK (5)
- Flashily attractive (9)
- Wash vegetable (9)
- Diary (4)
- Take from place to place (9)

Down

- One's own place (4)
- Early laser (4)
- A glove (fem) — hat (9)
- Hourly — Provisional (9)
- Secret light with lover (9)
- Brilliant — not still (9)
- Fruit drink (9)
- The King (9)
- The party isn't a principal (9)
- Amplify currency? (9)
- Poisoner on sundial (9)
- Yield (4)
- Express satisfaction (4)

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Steve Bell



Doonesbury



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Society

DEVELOPMENT

Amid the frenzy of millennium preparations one place has more right than most to get excited. By Sally Ramsden

Oh, not so little town

A small, dusty and noisy Palestinian town nestled in rolling hills just outside Jerusalem, is caught up in a frenzy of development. New hotels and a host of tourist infrastructure projects jostle for room in an already densely populated space.

The focus for the current flurry of construction in Bethlehem is 2000, an internationalist-funded project intended to celebrate the millennium (it all began here with the birth of Christ a few AD) and boost the struggling Palestinian tourism industry.

All kinds of foreign interests have fingers in the pie. British advertising agency McCann-Erickson is funding a six-story coach park to bring in the tourists. The Swedes are building a new cultural centre for Manger Square.

Choirs will sing in the Shepherds' fields on Christmas Eve 1999 and the crowds, it is hoped, will arrive for a series of festive events leading throughout the millennium year.

Already 50 per cent of today's two million visitors to the Holy Land pass through Bethlehem. Most of them modern-day Christians, pilgrims based in by Jericho and lured by tales of terrorism to deter them from staying. An estimated four million are expected for the year 2000 and the Palestinians, understandably, want to capture more of this passing tourist trade.

But at what cost to their heritage? Nablus, a Palestinian minister for Bethlehem 2000, says: "We should be ready in time but we just hope all the visitors don't come on one day. Our real problem is not managing the numbers, but getting tourists to Palestinian areas in the first place and the fact that we have no control over what's going on outside our jurisdiction."

Up the road from Bethlehem, there used to be a forested Palestinian village which the Arabs called Abbat Abu Ghinien. Now it's a massive quarry, stripped naked of its pine trees and scarred by dirt roads ready for the vast new Israeli housing and hotel development, Har Homa.

CONSUMERISM

There's a new bar on the block — a fair-trade chocolate launched by a group of African farmers and targeted straight at UK sweet lovers. Sally Ramsden samples it

Future choc

Each of us in Britain eats the equivalent of 180 bars of Cadbury's Dairy Milk, the nation's favourite brand, every year. Or to show over another big indulgence, we guzzle 60 KRKs a second. We spend more on chocolate than on fruit and vegetables combined — a total of £2.6 billion last year — and sales are increasing steadily.

For the first time the farmers from Ghana who depend on cocoa for a living are being paid for by 27 million new bars of Cadbury's Dairy Milk, the nation's favourite brand, every year. Or to show over another big indulgence, we guzzle 60 KRKs a second. We spend more on chocolate than on fruit and vegetables combined — a total of £2.6 billion last year — and sales are increasing steadily.

But British consumers are having to pay more to indulge this growing appetite. The price of an average chocolate bar has gone up by about two thirds in recent years. Yet during the same period the price of cocoa on the world market has more or less halved.

It's all good business for the three companies which now dominate the UK market — Nestlé, Rowntree, Mars and Cadbury-Schweppes. Behind the aid and special offers lies a multi-billion pound global industry where big profits are to be made — often at the expense of the 10 million small-holder farmers in West Africa who produce the cocoa we consume.

But now a cocoa farmers' co-op in Ghana is taking on the corporate giants to compete directly for a chunk of the British market with London has the public support of

Clare Short's Department for International Development (DFID) which is firmly committed to ethical trading. It was a grant from DFID's predecessor, the Overseas Development Administration (ODA), which enabled Twin to research the impact of liberalisation in Africa and make contact with cocoa farmers.

The big manufacturers complain that this kind of trading is unfair to them. Sir Dominic Cadbury, recently cried out when Short asked top companies to use Cadbury's, a fair-trade coffee also from Twin. He argued that government ministers should not promote particular brands.

"We have supported the cocoa industry in Ghana for a century and we believe that we are fair and ethical in our dealings with producers. So it's difficult to see how government support for this kind of enterprise can be justified," says a spokesman for Cadbury-Schweppes.

Fair-trade advocates say that DFID's support is just a small but essential way of trying to redress a tiny bit of the global imbalance. The Dairy Chocolate Company, venture pits poor farmers in the heart of Ghana's tropical rainforest against Northern multi-nationals with mega budgets.

Hug a tree today... Julia Buttery

Hill shows no sign of ending her protest and coming down from the redwood. She has named Luna

home in the majestic 1,000-year-old tree last December to protest against the logging of giant redwoods 280 miles north of San Francisco. Since then her feet haven't touched the ground. In spite of repeated attempts by loggers to force her down, the woman, cradled in the branches of an ancient redwood tree that has been marked for felling, has refused to budge.

Earth First activists filled her suit, and broken all previous

Julia Hill has spent a year living in the branches of a giant redwood to protest against US logging policy. Vicky Anning finds out why

CONSERVATION

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CONSERVATION

When's world

Murdoch's Eastern promise • Official secrets printed here • James Hewitt's stolen moments

The irony curtain

So what you like about Rupert Murdoch, he certainly has a talent for irony. Last Thursday, on the 80th anniversary of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, his British newspapers furiously attacked Jack Straw for condemning General Pinochet to spend a few months in the hellish penal colony known as

Surry, and when you might say, "And where was Rupert himself?" And where was Margaret Thatcher for her part in the lunatic fringe on top, you might say, "The Sun with the headline 'Taki and Margaret Thatcher for human rights'."

Every respect, eh? These tremendous achievements must therefore include the recent arrest of 29 pro-democracy campaigners — two of whom, Wang Yousai and Qin Yongmin, go on trial tomorrow. Given his contempt for "journos", he may also have been thinking of the Chinese

reporter Gao Yu, who has been incarcerated since 1989 for the heinous crime of writing an article in a Hong Kong newspaper; she is now serving a life sentence in a prison north of Beijing. No doubt it is also in mind the admirable treatment of Pang Qionghu, a factory worker from Shanghai, who was detained earlier this year and sentenced without trial

to three years of "re-education through labour" after arguing for the right to form free trade unions. Murdoch's own transformation from Cold Warrior to Communist education through capital? As recently as 1993, soon after acquiring the Hong Kong-based Sun TV service, he boasted that satellite broadcasting would be "an unmitigated threat to totalitarian regimes everywhere" by allowing "information-hungry residents of many closed societies to bypass state-controlled television". The Chinese government, understanding the alarmed, retaliated by outlawing the reception of "unauthorised foreign broadcasts" — thus jeopardising Rupert's \$820m investment in Star.

Murdoch didn't get where he is today by speaking truth to power, even if that power is wielded by a totalitarian regime. To please the autocrats of Beijing, he promptly dropped BBC World Service TV from the Star network and ordered one of the New York publishing houses to pay a huge advance — said to be \$1m — for an unresolvable biography of Deng Xiaoping, written by Deng's own daughter. The first reward for all this sycophancy is a new cable TV station in Guangdong province, which is now being set up.

Since then, the Star-crossed have lost another Test match, or that Bill Clinton is a spot of bother. And the speaks would be amused and grateful, since they know nothing. You think I exaggerate? Last year I wrote a short article on this page about the head of M16, Sir David Spelling. As soon as it appeared, a senior intelligence officer contacted a time journalist from another newspaper and jumped him

urgently for details about me. "Who is this Whorpe? Where does he live? Is he married? How many children does he have?" As it happens, the answers to all these questions are in an annual reference book that can be found in any public library. But such a simple method of intelligence-gathering is apparently beyond the wit of the highly trained hobs and knobs at the Official Secrets Act.

High-minded souls may feel that it is unprofessional for journalists to take money from the intelligence service, but this column has no such scruples. I long to be recruited by the spooks, if only because they are such ignorant clumps. In return for my monthly bung I would inform them that England's cricketers have

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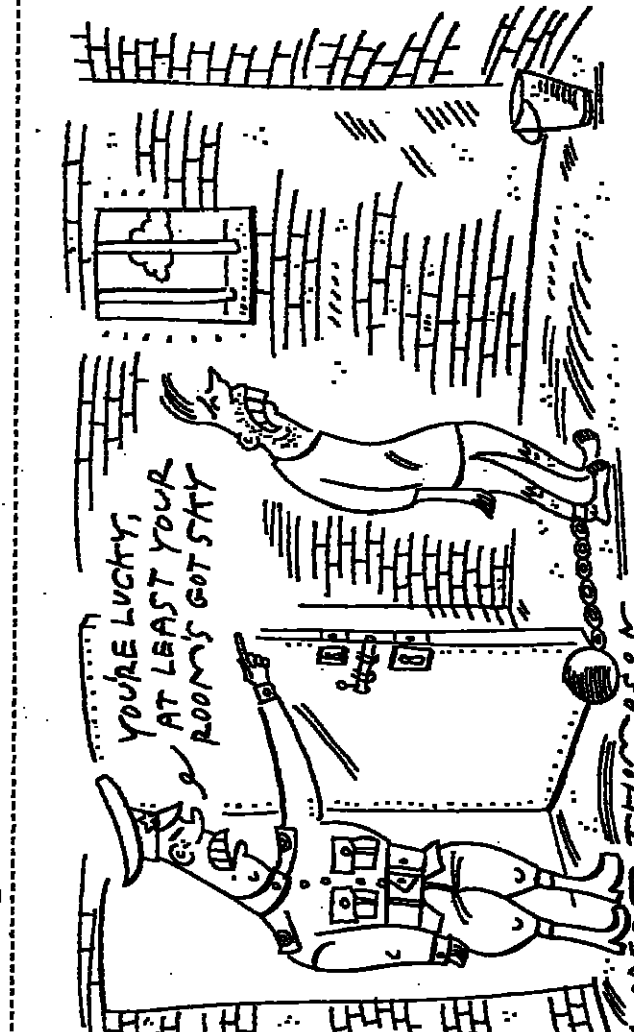
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press over the past two years" while Murdoch told Jiang that he hoped to further enhance friendly cooperation to present the world with a better understanding of China.

Does this imply that life many further: what audience could be unmoved by the scene in which Rupert refuses to publish Chris Patten's book East and West, and Jiang returns the favour by allowing the film Titanic into Chinese cinemas, to the delight of 20th Century Fox (Group, R Murdoch)?

The find arises that they were blithely to each other on Human Rights Day last week, confirming that the two men are now quite friendly. According to the Xinmin news agency, President Jiang expressed appreciation for the efforts made by Murdoch's group to help China's development in Guangdong province.

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A royal postal strike

James Hewitt, the former lover of the Princess of Wales, may well be the most friendly man in England. To conserve his, he is unfailingly polite. A Mirror editor-in-chief, he has been a thorn in the side of the Palace for years. He is a thorn in the side of the Palace for years. He is a thorn in the side of the Palace for years.

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encouragement of the Mirror, which led her to believe that she would be paid £150,000. As soon as Ferretti delivered the goods, however, the newspaper stopped her to the police and handed over the stack of letters to Scotland Yard. Though not before photographing the letters and reproducing a few titillating snippets.

By its own admission, the Mirror was guilty of luring and abducting a thief, handling stolen goods and profiting from the crime. The Princess's trustees were also guilty of receiving stolen property, which they have steadfastly refused to return. And yet, bizarrely, neither the editor of the Mirror nor the princess's solicitor have been arrested, and the police have made no attempt to recover Hewitt's documents. Would Jack "Zero Tolerance" Straw care to explain why?

from his house in Devon at the end of March and are now in the hands of Messrs Lawrence Graham, solicitors to the princess's estate. "We call James Hewitt a rat is unfair to rodents," a Mirror editor-in-chief, he has been a thorn in the side of the Palace for years. He is a thorn in the side of the Palace for years.

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Appointments

ACCOMMODATION LIAISON OFFICER JOINT SERVICE LIAISON OFFICE, BRITISH FORCES GERMANY

The main function of the Joint Service Liaison Office (JSLO) is to liaise between the British Forces in Germany (BFSG) and the German authorities at Federal, Land and local levels, in accordance with mutual obligations arising from International Agreements.

The Accommodation Liaison Officer (ALO) post is located in Bonn, Germany and is graded at Senior Executive Officer level. The key duties of the post are:

- Liaising with the BFSG on the application of NATO Status of Forces Agreement and Supplementary Agreement, German political, legal and procedural matters relating to the acquisition and release of accommodation, planning/conservation and environmental protection on BFSG administered property.
- Liaising with other NATO Standing Staffs Forces on accommodation matters, construction and environmental issues.
- Liaising, monitoring progress and negotiating/assessing with the Federal German authorities on accommodation, construction and environmental matters.
- Liaising and negotiating a small bilateral association/representative team concerned with the lack of international liaison.

Experience and Professional Competence required: Good current working knowledge of BFSG together with German political and administrative systems is essential.

10 years' experience of negotiating in a Government/International environment is essential. Technical fluency in English and German to CSEB (Interpreting level) or H or Institute of Linguists Diploma in Public Service Interpreting or tested commercial equivalent above degree level is essential.



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

The salary for the position of ALO will be £21,273 pa with the potential for performance related increases. A Recruitment and Retention Allowance of £1,776 pa will be payable. Applicants domiciled in the UK will also receive a non-taxable Cost of Living Allowance (COLA) which ranges from £4,000 to £7,260 depending on marital status. COLA is variable and subject to adjustment to reflect changes in the cost of living in Germany. Additional COLA is payable for any dependent children. Free accommodation and utilities within agreed limits are also available. Local schooling or Boarding School Allowance is provided, where needed.

The post is reserved for UK Nationals only, and is a fixed term three year contract, although there is a good possibility of extension to 5 years. Exceptionally, posts may be made permanent.

For an information pack and application form, please call 00 49 2181 422451 or write to PM15 Civil Servants, HQ UKSC29, BFPO 140, Alternately you can request the information pack by fax on 00 49 2181 42220.

The closing date for applications is 15 January 1998. We are an equal opportunity employer and are fully committed to equal opportunity policies. The Ministry of Defence is an equal opportunity employer and is fully committed to equal opportunity policies. The Ministry of Defence is an equal opportunity employer and is fully committed to equal opportunity policies.

PUBLIC POLICY CONSULTING TRAINEE CONSULTANT POSTS

ECOTEC is one of Europe's leading public policy consultancies with over 180 staff working in three countries. We offer a unique combination of policy consulting and programme management training from an independent, commercial perspective. Up to the terms of the contract, you will be working on a variety of projects, including:

- Environmental impact assessment
- Policy impact assessment
- Environmental impact assessment
- Policy impact assessment

You should have a minimum of a 1st or 2.1 degree with a first or second degree in an environmental subject. You should have or be capable of developing high grade presentation skills. You should be entrepreneurial in spirit and committed to delivering the best possible solution to your clients. You should enjoy working in a team but aspire to leadership.

You period of training will last for a period of 12 months during which you will spend periods of time working on projects in the UK and abroad. You will be based in London or London as appropriate.

BROMLEY CENTRE FOR VOLUNTARY SERVICE CAMPAIGNS OFFICER

Salary £16,233 - £17,319

BMS is seeking a Campaigns Officer to develop and implement a range of environmental volunteer recruitment campaigns to support small, voluntary organisations within the BMS area. Based in Bromley, this exciting opportunity offers exposure to the BMS area. The ability to work with a variety of different organisations and people is essential, as well as organisational skills, motivating both yourself and others in a highly creative and energetic way and the ability to present ideas using the media, written and verbally.

The position requires the monitoring, evaluating and developing of the project as well as the writing up of progress reports and other documentation. The successful candidate will be responsible for the recruitment and training of volunteers, and the development of new projects. The successful candidate will be responsible for the recruitment and training of volunteers, and the development of new projects.

Central Asia Programme
INTRAC

Project Manager - based in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan

INTRAC is seeking a Project Manager to lead a team of experts in the field of Central Asia. The successful candidate will be responsible for the recruitment and training of volunteers, and the development of new projects.

Project Co-ordinator
RoadPeace

Project Co-ordinator

RoadPeace is seeking a Project Co-ordinator to lead a team of experts in the field of Road Safety. The successful candidate will be responsible for the recruitment and training of volunteers, and the development of new projects.

Scarborough & Ryedale Careers Resource
CAREERS SUPPORT & INFORMATION OFFICERS

2 Posts. Salary £18,417 pro rata (FT - 37hrs)

30 hrs p.w. each (4 or 5 days). Three year fixed term contract.

We are seeking two experienced and highly motivated officers to support individuals across the area. Detailed knowledge of careers issues, services and benefits essential. Must have own transport.

International links officer
Salary £18,000-£23,000

The Local Government International Bureau acts as the Employer and is a member of the Local Government Association for England and Wales. One of its major roles is to provide international links and training. The International Links Officer works as part of a small team. The post will be based in London, but may also cover other areas.

CARE Australia Emergencies
Unit Canberra-Based

CARE Australia is an international emergency relief organisation. We are seeking a Unit Canberra-Based to lead a team of experts in the field of Emergency Relief. The successful candidate will be responsible for the recruitment and training of volunteers, and the development of new projects.

Emergency Manager

The Emergency Manager will lead a team of experts in the field of Emergency Management. The successful candidate will be responsible for the recruitment and training of volunteers, and the development of new projects.



At the dark end of the street

Talitha Harwood-Stevenson

The Lit Girl gets some pub philosophy

“**N**ow, do you mind a little bit of risk?” asked my new boss, Neil. Last Wednesday, this is a question I had hoped never to be asked, but unfortunately, it was to make or break my new career. Not really, no, I agreed, and I got the job. Although my life's theme is still light deprivation, I have emerged from the anonymity of a restaurant coat cupboard with big hair and a coherent smile – as an employee.

My new job is a smart London restaurant, and I am doing my utmost to be a successful employee. I am a bit of a risk taker, and I am a bit of a risk taker. I am a bit of a risk taker, and I am a bit of a risk taker.

Like all literary figures in the making, I am well aware that these early chapters of my biography are critical to my future. I am a bit of a risk taker, and I am a bit of a risk taker. I am a bit of a risk taker, and I am a bit of a risk taker.

Some women seem to think that me being a writer is a bit of a risk. I am a bit of a risk taker, and I am a bit of a risk taker. I am a bit of a risk taker, and I am a bit of a risk taker.

I am going to have my collection of rejection letters laminated for use as drinks mats when I am famous.

Heaven or purgatory that state – just a special kind of publishing limbo called “The Shit Pile”.

I am going to have my collection of rejection letters laminated for use as drinks mats when I am famous.

